The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1898.

The Week.

The rage for "expansion" has received a setback during the past fortnight. The sad condition of our returning troops has raised this inquiry in the minds of those whom Mr. Lincoln called "the plain people": If we cannot administer affairs in our own territory better than Camps Alger, Thomas, Wikoff, and Black have been administered, how are we likely to administer the Philippine Islands, ten thousand miles away? If we cannot bring our heroes home from Cuba, four or five days distant, in better plight than those on the *Seneca*, the *Alleghany*, etc., what is likely to be the condition of sick and wounded men who must be three to five weeks on shipboard? Indeed, the fine outburst of imperialism that greeted us when the protocol with Spain was signed is much subdued. Evidence may be found in a series of interviews published by the *World* on the question, "What shall we do with the Philippines?" Ex-Senators Sherman and Edmunds, President Schurman of Cornell University, President Jordan of Stanford University, California, and a large number of equally eminent men, take decided grounds against annexation or retention of the Philippines, or any part thereof, except possibly a coaling-station. President Jordan delivered a powerful address against imperialism to the graduating class of his university, which has been published for general circulation by Mr. John J. Valentine. In this discourse President Jordan cites the treatment of the natives of Alaska since we acquired that country, and says that Russia has just as good cause to complain against us on their account as we had to complain against Spain for her treatment of the Cubans. If that is treason, make the most of it.

But what are we going to do with the Philippines? we are asked in a helpless manner. Even the Saratoga conference seemed to be rather downcast when confronted with that question. Gen. Patrick A. Collins of Boston has no difficulty in answering it. "If the Philippines are not fit for self-government," he says, "we do not want them; if they are, let them set up for themselves." That which confuses many minds is the idea that because our fleet in Asiatic waters annihilated the Spanish fleet, therefore we became charged with the duty of overlooking and giving good government to eight or ten millions of people who never asked our assistance, and most of whom never knew of our existence until they heard the sound of our guns. Now suppose that we were fitted by training to take good care of distant peoples (as our treatment of the Alaskan natives proves we are not), what obligation under heaven devolves upon us merely because we have knocked down, in a chance encounter, the Spanish defences of Manila? We say a chance encounter because we went to war for reasons in which the Philippines had no part. So far as the cause of the war is concerned, the Philippines had no more to do with it than the Canaries had. Some imperialists think that we ought to have taken the Canaries anyhow, if not the Balearic Islands. Spanish rule is admittedly bad in all those places, and is perhaps worse in Spain than anywhere else. Why not do our whole duty and introduce good government in Spain while we are reforming other countries than our own?

Insubordination is almost the worst of military faults, but it is the only resource against corrupt mismanagement. When the soldier undertakes to obey orders without question and without murmur, he does it on the understanding that his superiors will use their best judgment and honesty to secure the good of the service and the good of the country. But if a Secretary of War resorts to trickery and double-dealing, and imperils the army by favoritism and incompetence, the only remedy is insubordination. That is, if any officer in authority is to speak out at all, he must do an unmilitary thing, facing the consequences with his eyes open, for the sake of what he considers the larger demands of the public good. No one knows this better than Gen. Miles. He has deliberately made himself liable to court-martial. But he doubtless decided that it was better to be insubordinate than to allow Algerism to go unexposed. The Secretary is pained that such an unsoldierly thing should have been done. He should have reflected that the unsoldierly act by the General commanding was made necessary by the many unsoldierly acts of the Secretary of War.

A Washington dispatch says that Congress will be very reluctant to investigate the scandals in the War Department. The reason is that Congressmen themselves are a part of the scandal. They would have to investigate themselves. If Alger made improper appointments, he might turn on the investigating committee and ask, "Why did you urge them on me? Why did you demand regiments for incompetent commanders?" If dishonest contracts for ships or supplies are unearthed, the Secretary might be able to ask his cross-examiner, "Why did you demand these favors for constituents of yours?" But all this will not prevent an investigation. There must be one. Congress will not dare refuse it. And just here the Republican managers would do well to note that they are giving, or are in danger of giving, a very taking campaign cry to the Democrats. The New Hampshire Democrats have already called for a Democratic Congress to investigate the official blundering which led to the death of so many soldiers from neglect. A Democratic congressional convention in Pennsylvania has taken up the same cry. Here is the best chance of Democrats to get a partisan advantage out of the war. The only way to forestall it is for the Republican Administration to see to it that a thorough and unsparing investigation of Algerism in all its ramifications be set on foot at the earliest possible day.

Gov. Tanner of Illinois has not a world-wide reputation for wisdom, but there is a great deal of sense in what he says of the natural consequences of war. He is an old soldier, and he holds Gen. Sherman's definition of war to be correct: "War is destruction, war is death, war is hell." Of his company, Gov. Tanner says, 25 per cent. died of disease in the first three months of service in the civil war. Many persons still remember the frightful mortality on the banks of the Chickahominy and in the swamps of the Mississippi; but these ghastly recollections had no place in the thoughts of those who hurried our country into this war. They seemed to think, as Gov. Tanner says, that the invasion of Cuba was a pleasure excursion. They were utterly blind to the most obvious consequences of their haste. They were warned that the climate of Cuba was pestilential during the summer and autumn, and that this country was wholly unprepared to undertake military expeditions to foreign lands. They were told that, under the management of venal politicians, our Government was not qualified to carry on war with efficiency. These arguments were rejected with derision, and those who presented them vilified as traitors. To reason concerning the matter in Congress was like reasoning with a hurricane. Higher and higher rose the furious yell of the press for bloodshed, and lower and lower sank the courage of our statesmen. At last the barriers were swept away, and when the first Spanish blood was shed, the wretched writers for the sensational journals whooped triumphantly, "How do you like our war now?"

Gen. Pando's interview in Monday morning's papers shows him to be a

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type of soldier too common in Spain—and in France, for that matter. He is a devout believer in the army and a deep despiser of men in civil life. The latter, these so-called statesmen—these *pékins*, as the French officers call their public men—do nothing but blunder, and prevent the army from saving and blessing the country. Gen. Pando is just now especially severe on Sagasta, to whom, he says, the United States ought to build a monument. But he would be just as severe on any other Spanish statesman. In fact, if we remember aright, it was only a little more than a year ago that Gen. Pando was in Spain denouncing Cánovas just as heartily. There is a fine impartiality and non-partisanship about these soldier-talkers; whoever the chief of state may happen to be, he is a numskull, and all that is left for the brave officers to do is to cry out, "Nous sommes trahis!" The doughty General promises to make things interesting for Sagasta when he gets home and takes the floor in the Cortes, of which he is a member. In other words, he proposes to do all he can to perpetuate the greatest curse under which Spain has rested all these years—the curse of military domination of the government.

The annual pension report of H. Clay Evans makes the amount paid out under the general pension laws $75,275,383, and under the act of June 27, 1890, $66,255,070. The inference seems irresistible that those who like this sort of thing should vote for, and those who dislike it against, the Republican party. Mr. Evans complains of a "lack of system" in some respects, but if his account of the result of the work of examining-boards is correct, there is too much system in others. The practice requires that medical examiners shall make not only a diagnosis, but a complete and accurate "pen picture" of the disability of the claimant; but doubts have arisen as to these reports, and to test the value of them the singular device was resorted to in one case of sending the claimant before four boards successively. Each board found unanimously; there was no minority report. One found no ratable disability, one found $8 worth per month, one $17 worth, and the fourth $24 worth. What disposition was made of the case is not stated, but we venture to say that a fifth would have made a new finding of some sort. "Doctors disagree" at Washington as well as elsewhere, and four boards are not better than one. We see the same thing in private life, and we do not see how the difficulty can be got over except by standing by the findings of a single board. The confusion was introduced by sending the case to four boards, not, as Mr. Evans suggests, because the doctors had passed a civil-service examination. Medical inquiries by Government boards into ratable disabilities are of little protection to the Government in any case, but they are all we have. The only way to root out the frauds in the pension business would be through publishing the lists, and having a judicial revision of the findings in every case. We notice that there are still surviving five "widows of the American Revolution." It appears, therefore, that a good pension system may easily last you a hundred and fifteen years. In 1980 we shall still have among us interesting relicts of the brave men who fought so well in 1865.

The present drift of things in the Republican party is most satisfactory to those who hope to see a good man elected Governor of New York in November. Nobody is talked of for the nomination except Black and Roosevelt, and Black is daily losing whatever strength he had at the outset. Of course, Payn and Aldridge are bound to do all they can for the man who appointed them, and the Commissioner of Prisons and some other State officials are zealously supporting Payn and Aldridge. But Black is infinitely worse off with their help than he would be without it. It is such appointments as theirs that have done most to disgust people with the Governor, and made Independents ready to vote for any decent Democrat rather than endorse Black's performances. As for the Roosevelt boom, it grows every day of its own accord, and practically all the Republican politicians, except those who are bound to Black by ties which decency will not allow them to sever, have already made up their minds that it would be a hopeless task to resist it. Most of them seem to have at last got the idea into their heads that the party could not afford to defy the Independent vote this year, as it would do if it should nominate Black or anybody else but Roosevelt. In this situation there is nothing for the Independents to do except fold their hands and await the nomination of Roosevelt, after which they will need no injunction to go in and do their best to make his majority overwhelming. We regret to see signs that some of them are uneasy over the fact that things seem coming their way without their being well at the front, and are trying to devise some plan to make what is apparently inevitable seem to be due to their initiative. There are even some who talk about holding an Independent State convention before the date set for the Republican convention, and nominating Roosevelt on their own hook. Nothing could be more unnecessary, ill-advised, and prejudicial to the ends which unselfish Independents have at heart.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union have determined on getting the custom of christening vessels with wine abolished. They insist that the battleship *Illinois* shall be christened with water, and urge with a good deal of ingenuity that if Kentucky, "with her reputation," can christen a ship with water, Illinois ought to be able to bring about the reform without difficulty. It may be said that as these ships are national ships, State lines ought to be obliterated, and the matter actually will be decided by the Federal Government, for under the war power the President and Secretary of the Navy decide how battle-ships are to be christened. But there is nothing that we can see to prevent their taking a popular vote on it, just as the President asks for "expressions of opinion" about the Philippines. The view of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union seems based on the idea of local option, and there is a good deal of reason to think that the present Administration would not object to that feature, as it would tend to please everybody. But we do hope that whenever water is used it will be poured out of a pail or dipper, and not out of the container the name of which suggests necessarily either alcoholic stimulants or a medical prescription.

The opinion of Attorney-General Griggs, concerning the payment of the tax on receipts given by express companies is so well reasoned as to be practically conclusive, and so the express companies have regarded it. The opinion was given in a case where the United States Government offered a package to an express company for transportation under a permanent contract with that company. The company objected to paying the stamp-tax on its receipt, holding that for the Government to exact it would be to impair the obligation of a contract. Mr. Griggs holds that the Government in making this contract was not acting in its capacity as sovereign, while it was acting in that capacity in laying the tax; and he points out that Congress is not explicitly prohibited from passing laws impairing the obligation of contracts. But, waiving these points, the Attorney-General says that taxes in general reduce the profits of contracts, and in that sense impair their obligation. But no court condemns taxes on this account, provided they are uniform. They may be ruinous, but they are not unlawful. If the express companies have contracts running a long time for the transportation of goods at specified rates, they cannot escape paying the stamp-tax. They will have to modify these contracts if they can, and make up their losses by increasing their other charges for transportation if they can. This stamp-tax is perhaps the most troublesome of all, and if any taxes are to be abolished, this might well be one of them.

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The International High Commission at Quebec is supposed to be engaged in statesmanlike discussion of great questions, but there is a host of collateral commissions in attendance which have plain, ordinary business ends in view. There are delegations from various parts of the United States and from all sorts of interests, calling on our commissioners to see that no changes are made in the tariff that can reduce the profits of any protected industry in this country. The lumbermen are unwilling to have the duty on sawed lumber reduced, the fishing interests are shocked at the idea of opening the American markets to Canadian fish on any terms, and the agricultural interests are unwilling to tolerate the competition of the farmers of the Dominion. On the other hand, it must be said that there are delegations working for somewhat broader ends. The removal of the duty on wood-pulp and paper may be sought from selfish motives, but it is a desirable measure for the public because it is a step in the right direction. The most advanced ground is taken by the delegation sent by the Boston Chamber of Commerce, which favors a reciprocity treaty on broad lines. This delegation takes the bold position that the opening of Canadian markets to American manufacturers would more than compensate for the injury caused to Eastern agricultural interests by imports of Canadian produce. It is hard to make our people comprehend this doctrine, but if they would ask themselves whether if Canada were admitted to the Union the tariff wall should be maintained, and if not, why not, they would see that the Boston Chamber of Commerce has reason on its side. Few Yankees would assert that duties could be advantageously imposed by Massachusetts on the products of Maine, but, so far as economic results are concerned, Canada stands where Maine does. If we really want to buy and sell and get gain, we can do so with very little trouble and with an actual decrease of the expense of our government, by free trade with Canada. Unfortunately, it is not general opportunities to trade that appeal to governing bodies, but special interests anxious for exclusive privileges.

The destruction of the Mahdist army at Omdurman, and the capture both of that place and of Khartum, is one of the great triumphs of British arms and British policy in Egypt. It restores the upper Nile to Egyptian control. It disperses a brave but semi-barbarous enemy from a position that he deemed unassailable, and, finally, it avenges Gordon. The battle of Omdurman was a victory of mind over matter, a triumph of modern military science over blind but magnificent bravery, of English calculation and coolness over Saracen fanaticism and fury. In point of valor these Mahdists are true descendants of the Arabs who conquered Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, northern Africa, and Spain in the seventh and eighth centuries, and whose career was stopped by Charles Martel at Tours. They are inspired by the same Mohammedan fatalism and contempt of death. They have been taught by the Koran to despise civilization, and now civilization has met them in a fair field and annihilated them. The advantages possessed by Sir Herbert Kitchener over the Khalifa were not those of position, but of artillery, Maxim guns, and mathematics. While we cannot withhold admiration for the splendid courage of the Khalifa's Emirs, and the rank and file whom they led to their death, it must be said that their destruction was a necessity to human progress in the Nile valley. The English suffered heavy losses in the engagement, but they will probably never have to meet the Khalifa again. The road is now open to the Victoria Nyanza, and there is no reason why a noble civilization should not arise and flourish in the upper Nile valley, as it now flourishes under English tutelage in the land of the Pharaohs. Not the least of the benefits to the human race flowing from this victory will be the suppression of the slave trade of the Red Sea by cutting its main artery at Khartum.

It was not merely humanity that set the English expedition moving on Khartum. If a crusade in the name of humanity were all England sought, she had it ready to her hand in Armenia and in Crete, but thither she did not stir. The Nile expedition was rather a political move, of a very complicated character; and how grave the next steps may be, how serious the responsibilities necessarily assumed with the capture of Khartum, thoughtful Englishmen have been discussing in advance of Kitchener's foregone victory. Will the Government stop at Khartum, or will it push on to the Nile sources? If so, will it risk friction with the French over again at Fashoda, as on the Niger? Some are already talking of a detachment sent up the Nile to meet Major Macdonald, pushing on from Uganda, and so further the "Cape-to-Cairo" dream. Complications with Abyssinia would be very likely in such a case. Gordon's opinion was that Khartum should be the limit to the south, and that England's true policy was to leave Darfur and Kordofan (whither the Khalifa has now retreated) independent, while maintaining as friendly relations as possible with Abyssinia. All that England set out to do, according to the explanations of the Government, was to secure a stable frontier for Egypt—presumably at Khartum. Whether that frontier will not prove to be as steadily receding a line as the Indian frontier has been remains to be seen.

The Paris newspapers are in a tumultuous state on the subject of Dreyfus and Zola. Few of them have the hardihood to deny that Capt. Dreyfus is entitled to a new trial. When we consider the shocking nature of the crime charged against him—that of betraying his country and violating his military oath for money—and the cruel punishment inflicted upon him, the mere suspicion of his innocence is calculated to put thorns in the pillows of a whole nation. That this is the uneasy state of the French mind is proved by the comments of the press of all shades of political bias. "One of the documents being a forgery," says the *Débats*, "the whole series is invalidated. Revision is therefore obligatory." Unquestionably so. We cannot imagine a civilized country going to sleep with such a mystery as the Dreyfus case remaining unravelled. Nor will another secret trial be accepted as satisfactory. The confidence of the whole world in French military justice has been shaken. No future judgment on the Dreyfus case can stand unless the reasons which support it are made as clear as the charge itself.

No man comes off worse in this Dreyfus business than Brunetière. The apostle of scientific criticism and free inquiry, with a position of immense prestige and privilege, he has allied himself with the mob and lent his influence to the cause of base passion and insensate mania. It was not, perhaps, necessary for him to speak at all. He might have chosen, as other learned men did, to be silent in the face of the national madness. But he not only spoke out, and on the wrong side, he went out of his way to sneer at the writers and professors and scientists who risked their positions and their reputations for the sake of what they believed to be truth and justice. Even as late as August 19, less than two weeks before the last revelation of official infamy, Brunetière was out in a letter flouting "the exasperated vanity of a few 'intellectuals.'" ("Intellectuals" was the mocking name given the professional and literary men who spoke up for justice.) Now this was sheer apostasy, unforgivable desertion from the ranks of the men of light and leading. Brunetière might have differed with them, and differed sharply; but to impugn their honesty, to question their motives, to cover them with insults—this was to write himself down unworthy the brotherhood of enlightened men. It will be long before Brunetière's choice of the baser part is forgotten or forgiven. That he is now overwhelmed with confusion by the exposure of the rottenness of the proofs against Dreyfus may well be believed; but he was guilty of a grievous wrong in any case.

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A PHILIPPINE CATECHISM.

Q. What is the chief argument for the retention by the United States of the Philippines? A. The value of the trade to be developed with these islands.

Q. Is there any way of calculating the comparative cost and profit of holding them as a colony? A. The cost can be got at by an estimate of the expenses of a military occupation.

Q. How? A. Every soldier receives about $200 a year in pay. His subsistence cannot be provided for less than $300; consequently, every soldier sent out to police the Philippines will cost at least $500 a year, and every thousand men will cost $500,000.

Q. Supposing, then, that the Philippines could be held by a thousand men, how much must there be in the way of trade, commerce, and industry to make the account balance? A. $5,000,000.

Q. Why do you say $5,000,000? A. Because $500,000 is 10 per cent. of that sum, and 10 per cent. is a very high rate of profit in any business. If a trade of $5,000,000 actually produced $500,000 every year, every trader would grow rich beyond the dreams of avarice.

Q. With a trade, then, of $5,000,000, we could afford to support a thousand troops in the Philippines? A. Hardly; because this leaves out of view the pay of the officers and all expenses for rent, wages of servants, transportation, and communication, to say nothing of the ordinary expenses of civil government.

Q. But for every 1,000 men you must have at least $5,000,000 of trade? A. Yes, and on that basis the profit is all consumed in the expense.

Q. What is the actual trade of the United States with the Philippines? A. Exports for the year ending June 30, 1897, $94,597; imports into the United States, $4,383,740.

Q. What is the population of the islands? A. About 8,000,000, mostly savages, given to crimes of violence and piracy.

Q. What estimate is made of the number of troops necessary to hold them? A. From 10,000 to 20,000 is the smallest number suggested by any good military authority.

Q. How much would it cost to keep that number of troops there? A. Ten thousand would cost $5,000,000. Twenty thousand would cost $10,000,000.

Q. Why do you call these low estimates? A. Because they make no account of the pay of the officers, rent, wages of servants, transportation, communication, and the expenses of civil government.

Q. Would there be any other expenses? A. There would be a large annual expense for a naval establishment.

Q. How large must this establishment be? A. The usual estimate is that it must be large enough to compare respectably with those of other nations in Asiatic waters.

Q. How large would that be? A. It is altogether impossible to say, because the partition of China is going on, and war may break out at any moment.

Q. Would $10,000,000 be a low estimate for the whole expense? A. A very low estimate.

Q. Show this. A. The regular army of the United States in 1897 consisted of 27,532 officers and men, and the appropriation for the support of this army for the year ending June 30, 1898, was $23,129,344.30. This had been about the amount of the annual appropriation for several years. This would show an expense of nearly $1,000 per annum for every man and officer, and on this basis a force of 20,000 for the Philippines would cost about $20,000,000 a year.

Q. Assuming the expense to be limited to $10,000,000, how much trade must there be to make it economically possible for the United States to hold the islands? A. $100,000,000.

Q. How much profit would there be to the people as a whole if such an expansion of trade could be effected? A. Not one cent.

Q. To whom would the profit go? A. The profit would go to those engaged in the trade, while the expense would fall upon the whole people in taxes.

Q. Upon whom has the expense hitherto fallen? A. Upon Spain.

Q. What prospect is there that our share of the trade of the Philippines will increase from $5,000,000 to $100,000,000? A. None whatever.

Q. Will not our military occupation and the substitution of our government for that of Spain give such a stimulus to trade and industry that there will be a phenomenal expansion? A. There is no reason to think so. The English government has been substituted for bad government throughout India, which has 250,000,000 inhabitants, and there has been no phenomenal expansion. The country is still a burden to England.

Q. What would you call a man who undertook to manage a property producing $500,000 a year profit, and to pay $10,000,000 a year for the chance of its turning out a good bargain? A. A born fool.

Q. What would you call a people who did the same thing, and taxed themselves to do it, in order that a few speculators might see what they could make out of it? A. They must be fools, too.

Q. Are the American people fools? A. Far from it.

Q. Then why do they countenance such projects? A. No one knows that they do. They have never had an opportunity to express themselves about it. They have not been consulted.

Q. Who have any interest in furthering the scheme? A. The speculators, who hope to make money out of it and saddle the expense on us.

Q. When it is said that a great "pressure" in favor of the project is brought to bear on the Administration, who brings it to bear? A. The speculators.

Q. Is there any other reason for holding the Philippines? A. The Jingoes want them held because, as long as we hold them, we must keep up a larger military and naval establishment.

Q. Of what use is that? A. It promotes war, and the Jingoes want as much war as possible.

Q. What makes more noise than a hundred sensible men? A. One Jingo.

Q. Would any other class profit? A. Congressmen, Senators, and other politicians would, through having more places at their disposal.

Q. If all that you say is true, why is it that expansion within the limits of the United States has always proved profitable? A. Because it has gone on without increased military expenditure.

Q. Under what circumstances will colonial expansion, accompanied by a military establishment, be profitable to the community as a whole? A. Only if the profits of the increased trade are greater than the expenditure. Otherwise the countries which have the trade without the burden will get all the profit there is in it.

OMENS FOR CURRENCY REFORM.

The most important and encouraging deliverance which has come from any State convention this year is found in the following resolution adopted by the Iowa Republicans on Thursday:

"The experience of the last two years has fully approved the gold-standard policy of the Republican party, as declared by the national convention of 1896. We recognize the necessity of comprehensive and enlightened monetary legislation. The monetary standard of this country and the commercial world is gold. The permanence of this standard must be assured by congressional legislation giving to it the value and vitality of public law. All other money must be kept at a parity with gold. Our money, like our institutions, should be maintained equal to the best in the world. On this plank we invite the support of all voters who desire honesty and stability in business affairs and an immediate and permanent settlement of the question of the standard of value."

In taking this action the Republican State convention only reasserted for the party as a whole the position which had already been assumed in the various congressional districts. All but one of the eleven district conventions have already been held, and, as they have spoken, there has been a steady progression to a stronger demand for the establishment of the gold standard in the laws of the United States. For example, the Ninth District Republicans the week before declared that "the improved agricultural, industrial, commercial, and financial condition of the country demonstrates the wisdom of Republican principles, as enunciated in the national platform of 1896, which we hereby reaffirm, and demand the retention of protection and the

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present gold standard of value"; while the convention in the Fourth District adopted this resolution:

"We reaffirm our adherence to the declaration of principles made by the Republican party in its national convention in 1896. The experience of the past two years has fully approved the gold-standard policy of the Republican party as then declared. We appreciate the services of the independent voters of 1896 and 1897 who placed the honor of the country above party. We declare that experience has demonstrated that there can be but one monetary standard. We demand that the permanence of the present gold standard of value be assured by congressional legislation, and that all other money be kept at a parity with gold."

The press of the Republican party in Iowa has been practically unanimous in calling for the adoption of such resolutions as these, and in welcoming a campaign waged upon the line of the battle here laid down. The *Iowa State Register*, the chief organ, lately declared that it did not know of an Iowa Republican who was not in favor of that demand—"a demand that will make the gold standard 'the paramount issue' in this year's campaign; and this week's Republican State convention should voice that demand in a manner that can neither be misunderstood nor misconstrued."

We thus have the Republican party in a strongly Republican State in the very heart of the middle West making currency reform the great issue of the fall campaign, and assuring a propaganda in favor of such legislation in the next Congress—a State, too, in which only two years ago the Republican politicians were afraid of the silver issue, and sought refuge in equivocal declarations in favor of "true bimetallism." This is precisely the sort of deliverance which was needed, and it comes from precisely the right quarter to render it most effective. A Western President can throw the influence of his Administration for financial reform ten times as easily when he is responding to a pressure from his own section as when the pressure comes from the Atlantic seaboard.

Every one of the eleven Representatives from Iowa in the present House is a Republican; every one in the next House is likely to be. Most of the present members have been renominated, and several of them are men of force, experience, and influence with their party. The delegation will constitute a nucleus for effective work in bringing their Republican colleagues generally to the same position. The members from New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania will gladly follow their lead; and there are plenty of Representatives from Wisconsin, Minnesota, and other sound-money States in the West who will need no persuasion to join them.

The outlook for a forward step in the direction of permanent currency reform in the next Congress is, therefore, excellent—if the Republicans shall control the House to be elected in November. But it will not do to take it for granted that they "have a sure thing." They have not. We are glad to see that their managers frankly admit the necessity of hard work. The chairman of their congressional campaign committee has just served a second and impressive warning:

"It is not going to be an easy matter for the Republicans to regain control. With few exceptions during the last twenty years it has required very hard work to carry a majority of the districts. The Republican party is strong on national issues, such as the tariff and the money question, but local affairs are causing troubles in many States, and our people might as well know the truth now as to find it out later. It will stir them up. Take New York, for instance; Tammany is firmly intrenched, and the power and patronage of that great political machine are such that we shall have to be up and doing to save the districts now represented by Republicans. I think we shall win in a majority of the districts of the country, but it must be remembered that the margin of votes is slender in many of them."

A new and great peril has just been injected into the canvass. The revelations of official incompetence in the War Department in the treatment of the sick and wounded soldiers, not merely in Cuba, where people were ready to make excuses, but on the transports which brought the troops home, in the camp at Montauk Point, where they were landed, and in other camps throughout the country, where volunteers have sickened by the thousands without leaving their own country—these revelations have aroused public indignation, and provoked a demand for a thorough investigation which shall bring to punishment those responsible for the shocking abuses. The people are utterly disgusted with Algerism, and if the President should attempt to sustain it, there would be the gravest danger that his party would lose the next House.

The Independents who supported Mr. McKinley for the Presidency care nothing for the Republican party as an organization for the distribution of official patronage, but they realize that the Republican party offers at present not only the sole promise of relief from a most pernicious agitation for silver and "soft money," but also the sole hope of legislation in the next Congress which will render this relief permanent. They welcome the indications that another Republican House will do something for the cause which they have at heart, but they fear that the party will lose the chance to do it through the success of the opposition unless the McKinley Administration shall unload Algerism without delay.

AN EXPERT ON THE MACHINE.

The most important element in the politics of the greatest States in the Union is the machine which controls their government. The most puzzling problem that confronts the voters, who are nominally "sovereigns" but really subjects, is how to recover the power which they have lost. The first step towards the solution of this problem is to understand what the machine really is, how it is constructed, and what are the sources of its strength. No evil was ever abolished until the people had clearly perceived its character and had thus learned how most effectively to attack it. A great deal has been spoken and written about the machine, but it has been done almost entirely by amateurs. Many students of government have sought to analyze this tremendous force which has been developed in our politics, but they have been open to the charge of being "doctrinaires." What has been needed was a description by "a practical man" who "has been on the inside," and who "knows what he is talking about."

This long-felt want has now been met by John Wanamaker. He is no Mugwump; it was his boast, a few months ago, that he had never scratched a Republican ticket. He is no theorist or idealist; there is not a sharper business man in America. He is no ignorant outsider, making wild guesses; he understands the machine as well as he does either of his big stores. In a speech to the farmers at the Inter-State Exposition held at Harrisburg last week Mr. Wanamaker gave a description of the machine which, as the work of an able expert, deserves the attention of the nation. He announced that he "had taken great pains to accurately gather the facts," and no Quay man can impeach the substantial accuracy of his statements.

How, according to this unimpeachable authority, is the Republican machine built up? Its controller is Quay, who is United States Senator, and who as such has two votes—his own and his subservient colleague, Penrose's — with the great prestige and patronage incident thereto. There is a Republican State committee, "which in every part is subjugated to serve the personal interests of Senator Quay first and the party next, without respect to the will of the people." There are 30 Congressmen, with their secretaries, 60 persons, whose salaries aggregate $180,000 annually, and who are responsible to the machine for their respective districts. There are 419 officers and employees of the State Government, who receive in salaries $1,034,500 annually, "who are selected only because they are supposed to be able to deliver the votes of their districts to any one the Quay machine dictates," and who are all assessed by the bosses. There is a State Senate, with expenses last year of $169,604, whose "every officer, from President pro tem. down to page boys, is selected to do the machine's bidding"; and a House of Representatives, with 257 members, officers, and employees, drawing $468,302 last year, with "all the committees selected by the machine, and chairmaned by men who know no will but that of Senator Quay," so that thus "his ma-

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chine absolutely controls all revenue and tax legislation." There are 4,149 county offices, "a majority of which are controlled by Senator Quay's machine," whose salaries amount to $5,000,000. There are, besides the thousands of trustees, other officials and employees of hospitals, State and private, State prisons, reformatories, State asylums, charitable homes, State colleges, normal schools, soldiers' orphans' schools, scientific institutes, and museums, "who are expected to support the machine, or the appropriations of their institutions will be endangered."

For an alliance with these State officials the federal Government contributes the incumbents of 8,122 post-offices with salaries amounting to $3,705,446, "most postmasters being the personal agents of the machine in their respective towns." There are also the Philadelphia mint, with 438 employees, who receive in yearly salaries $326,565; the office of the Collector of the Port, with 400 employees, who receive in salaries $454,000; the internal-revenue offices, with 281 employees, who receive in salaries $356,400; the United States Circuit and District Courts, with 41 employees, who receive in salaries $95,000; and the League Island navy-yard and State arsenals, with 585 employees, who receive in salaries $725,000—making a total of 14,705 officers and employees, who receive from the State and national Governments $7,609,911 annually.

"Money makes the mare go," and Mr. Wanamaker points out that, besides the amounts paid as salaries for State officers and legislators, the appropriation committee, "who are of Quay's personal selection," disburse $10,000,000 annually to schools, hospitals, penal institutions, etc.; and "the bold manipulation of these funds for the benefit of the machine has educated people to regard moneys received for these purposes as personal contributions from Senator Quay, in return for which they must render help to his machine." The machine is also supported by the combined capital of the brewers of the State, their thousands of employees, and the dependent patrons whom they control, and it is alleged to have been the money of the brewers that paid the large sums, during Superintendent of Mint Boyer's administration as State Treasurer, necessary to make good shortages which saved the machine when his cashier became a fugitive from justice. Another ally of the machine is the State Liquor League, whose members are in every city, town, hamlet, and cross-roads throughout the State, and who maintain a permanent State organization, having headquarters and representatives at Harrisburg during the sessions of the Legislature; they "are always for Senator Quay's machine, and form an important part of the machine's operations." A large number of the Common Pleas Judges are charged with using their license-granting power for the benefit of the machine, by rewarding those faithful to the cause of Quay and punishing those opposed to the machine. Another potent force is the hundreds of subservient newspapers who are recipients of machine favors, with their army of newsgatherers and correspondents, "who are forced to chloroform public sentiment and hide the iniquities of the machine."

But "the principal allies and partners of the machine," according to Mr. Wanamaker, have not yet been mentioned: they are the corporations. "The 15,000 national and State office-holders and the thousands of other officials connected with State institutions," he says, "form a small part of the whole number of obedient machine men who are constantly at the command of Senator Quay, the admitted boss of the machine; the corporation employees of the State who are controlled for Quay's use increase the number to the proportions of a vast army." Going into detail, he finds that the steam railroads employ 85,117 men, and the great street railways, which "have received valuable legislative concessions for nothing," 12,079; "that monopoly of monopolies," the Standard Oil, 3,000, "who are taught fidelity to Senator Quay"; the Bethlehem Iron Works, whose armor plates are sold to the Government for nearly double the contract price offered to foreign countries, "influence their employees to such an extent that it has been found difficult to get men to stand as anti-Quay delegates"; the thousands of workingmen of the Carnegie Iron Works "are marched to the polls under the supervision of superintendents and foremen, and voted for Quay candidates under penalty of losing their jobs"; while the great express companies, which furnish franks to machine followers, "one of which is bossed by Senator Platt," with their thousands of men, can be counted on for great service to the machine; and the telegraph companies, whose State officials can be found at the inner Quay councils, with the thousands of employees distributed at every important point throughout the State, and before whom a large share of all important news must pass, constitute "one of the most dangerous parts of the Quay machine."

Such is the machine—the "franchise-granting, legislation-selling, monopoly-fostering, corporation-protecting, taxation-increasing, liberty-destroying, and manhood-crushing machine," as Mr. Wanamaker calls it—which governs Pennsylvania. It is the most extraordinary form of government ever developed on earth.

LABOR LEGISLATION.

The State of Massachusetts has now maintained its Bureau of Labor Statistics for twenty-eight years. The reports of this bureau have generally contained information of value, and of recent years, as the labor-unions have become more aggressive, their proceedings have been chronicled by the authority of the State. What is called a "labor chronology" is now published, which gives in detail the discussions and demands of the unions, with some accounts of the strikes of laborers in which they have taken an interest. While it cannot be said that this chronicle is readable, it suggests some reflections as to the tendency of the trade-union movement which may not be unprofitable.

One of the most striking features of this movement, as here revealed, is the distinct recognition of the economic theories of the English Socialists. It is true that the orators of the trade-unions do not always feel quite at their ease in applying these theories. They assert them positively, but not very clearly. Nevertheless, it is evident that the theories have been explained to them and that they constitute their creed. Of course, the most important of these tenets is that which insists that laborers who do not join unions are enemies to labor in general. By their attitude they make it difficult for the unions to secure their demands, and are therefore treated as hostile. They have no right to work, according to the trade-union principles, unless they are willing to work according to the union rules. Hence it is entirely proper and laudable for union laborers to refuse to work with laborers who are not members, and to boycott all who tolerate or connive at violations of this principle. In the large cities, and in certain trades, the building trades especially, the power of the unions is very great, and they practically drive outside laborers from the field.

It is impossible to deny the right of men to refuse to work except on their own terms. A man must be allowed to choose his associates, and to withdraw from companionship which is not pleasing to him. It may be added that "boycotting," or refusing to deal with persons of whom we disapprove, although of doubtful legality when engaged in by a combination of people, is really practised by everybody. We all have our prejudices in favor of certain lines of conduct, and in our trading we yield to these prejudices. We do not regard merely the bargains that we are getting, but we pay some consideration to the methods by which those bargains are presented to us. Many people regard the conditions under which shop-girls do their work, and some even inquire into the conditions under which goods are produced. Just at present, for instance, there is much disposition in England to abstain from using the matches made by a certain concern, because some cases of phosphorus poisoning among its working-women have been brought to the attention of the public.

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The propensity to discriminate in this manner is inveterate, and provided the unions abstain from violence and intimidation, the law cannot undertake to forbid them to exercise their preferences.

It is when the unions attempt to invoke the aid of Government in support of their ends that they subject themselves to condemnation. Government everywhere, and especially in this country, should carefully protect the right to labor. It is the cornerstone of human liberty. The demand for it gave the French Revolution its immense power. To put it mildly, the trade-unions ignore this right. They say that a laborer outside of the union is at perfect liberty to get work, if he can. They will not work with him, but if he can find anybody who will, he may. This is obviously not a very satisfactory solution of the labor problem, except from the trade-union point of view. It is not satisfactory to the general public, and it is still less so to the laborers of inferior caste. Progress has consisted, as Maine said, in passing from the régime of status to that of free contract. The trade-unions are doing their best to reverse this process.

Their error becomes conspicuous when we consider that the courts have been compelled to declare a very large part of the legislation procured by them unconstitutional. In almost every case this legislation was calculated to give exclusive privileges to union laborers. It practically forbade the employment of non-union laborers in the service of the Government. This intention is openly avowed by the trade-unions. In the "Chronology" which is before us, the demand continually recurs for the undertaking of various forms of business by municipal and other governing bodies, on condition of "union labor" being employed. So, too, we find coupled with this demand one for shorter hours and higher pay in public employment than elsewhere. Owing to the decisions of the courts, many of these demands are now more guardedly stated, but they point steadily to the exclusion from governmental service of all laborers who are outside of the unions, or who decline to coöperate with them. It is needless to say that such exclusion is contrary to the principles of popular government. If carried out, it would restore the mediæval system of guilds, which involved a caste of laborers who were not free men.

It must be admitted that the Massachusetts trade-unions are demanding nothing more than their employers have long demanded and obtained. They claim only what is involved in the claim of any manufacturer who insists on a bounty or protective duty. He will assure you that his industry is of importance to the community, and should be "encouraged" by a privilege. To the charge that it is an exclusive privilege, he replies, as the trade-unionists reply, that any citizen may share the governmental favors. It is probably quite as easy for a laborer to join a union as for a capitalist to establish a manufacture, and if the principle of bounties is admitted, its application can be indefinitely extended. But as no one has ever proved that the remuneration of capital in general is increased by the payment of bounties to particular capitalists, so no one will prove that laborers as a class get higher wages because certain combinations of laborers succeed in getting them. Some one has to pay the abnormally high prices of protected goods, and some one has to pay the abnormally high wages of privileged trade-unions. Eventually, perhaps, both truths may become evident to our people, but at present it is only fair to say that it does not lie in the mouth of any capitalist who obtains legislative favor to denounce the laborer who tries to obtain the same thing.

DREYFUS AND NO END.

If unsettled questions have no pity for the repose of nations, it is certain that questions wrongly settled have none. For four years France has been protesting that the Dreyfus case was for ever settled. It was *chose jugée.* Not only could it not be reopened, but no one must even speak of reopening it. Any man suggesting that Dreyfus, whether really guilty or not, was illegally convicted and was entitled to a new trial, has found life in France almost intolerable. If a military man, he was subject to degradation and challenged to fight duels. If a civil servant, he was deprived of office and covered with insults. If a private citizen, he was ostracized or mobbed. Eminent professors have been suspended, poets silenced, editors muzzled; the courts have been deaf to appeals for justice; a veritable reign of terror has spread over all France—and all in the frenzied effort to prevent the Dreyfus case from being reopened. But here it is again clamoring to heaven for a rehearing.

The sequence of events leading up to these latest sensations with which France is convulsed, is worth noting. It all grew out of the blundering but honest attempt of the new Minister of War, M. Cavaignac, to allay the agitation which would not be allayed. He made a statement in the Chamber on July 7. It was the speech of a bluff but rather obtuse man. He assured the country on his honor that Dreyfus was guilty; otherwise he, honest Cavaignac, would not remain a day a member of a government persisting in injustice. This was all very well, and the Minister was undoubtedly sincere. But in an unlucky moment he proceeded to give his reasons for believing in the guilt of Dreyfus. Doing what all preceding Ministers of War had been astute enough to avoid, he read to the Chamber and the country the evidence which, in his mind, was ample to convict Dreyfus. Great was the enthusiasm over Cavaignac's speech. It was ordered placarded in all parts of the republic. At last it was settled; no one could doubt longer; the *chose* was for ever *jugée.*

But even from the first some of the most furious anti-Dreyfusites thought a blunder had been made. This thing of giving out secret documents was dangerous. Where would it end? It was much better to follow the old plan—roundly assert the man guilty, and refuse to give a glimmering of the testimony, falling back all the while on the fierce demand, "Do you mean to insinuate that the court-martial, made up of such distinguished officers, condemned an innocent man? Is that your opinion of the honor of the French army? Why, you are no better than a German!" And it must be said that the fears of these advocates of pronouncing and sticking to a sentence without stating reasons for it were speedily justified. Within two days the storm broke on poor Cavaignac's head. First came the open letter of Col. Picquart to the Prime Minister, M. Brisson, offering to prove in any court that two of the letters read by Cavaignac had nothing to do with the Dreyfus case, and that the third "has all the marks of a forgery." Then came Dreyfus's counsel, Maître Demange, to assert publicly that, whether the letters were authentic or not, they were not produced at the original trial, and therefore the accused man had never even heard of the evidence upon which it was now declared he was condemned. Here was the case reopened with a vengeance. Honest Cavaignac could not rest until he had set on foot the investigations which led up on Wednesday week to the extraordinary confession of Col. Henry that he had himself forged the letter supposed to be so fatal to Dreyfus. The forger had the grace to cut his throat later.

The deepest impression one gets from the whole shameful business is that it is an awful comment on the "honor" of the army. It was to preserve the army spotless and free even from suspicion that France had consented to the disgrace of repeatedly denying justice to Dreyfus. The army was placed far above justice. Instead of the old motto, "Let justice be done though the heavens fall," the French people were saying, "Let the army remain unsuspected though justice fall." Especially must the honor of army officers be stainless. Where was the certainty of a victory over Germany, when the time came, if it could be supposed that high officers of the French army were capable of a dishonorable action? Well, here is a high officer of the French army, Chief of the Intelligence Department of the General Staff,

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confessing an act of the blackest dishonor. We say nothing now of the many rumors that his superior officers were also implicated. Col. Henry alone shows what France was leaning upon when she staked everything upon the superior "honor" of the army. To have strangled justice, suppressed freedom of speech, exiled or insulted her noblest—and to have done it to preserve stainless an honor which was all the while covering itself with pitch! No wonder that the French people are filled with dismay at the position they now occupy in the eyes of the world.

Courts martial have erred before the one which condemned Dreyfus. Army officers are picked men, but they are not removed from human passion and fallibility. Witness our own court that condemned Gen. Fitz-John Porter. The injustice he suffered, and which it took such long years to right, might almost be set alongside the Dreyfus case. There was the same dogged assertion of *res adjudicata*, the same question whether you thought honorable officers could have condemned a brother-officer unjustly, the same unwillingness to produce or examine the evidence. But what added fuel to the flame in France was the desire for revenge on Germany which pervades all classes, and which was presumably stronger in the army than elsewhere. Now a deliberate cherishing of revenge is inconsistent with the finer sentiments of honor—even, in the end, as we now see, of military honor. It perverts not only the judgment, but morals. Everything must give way to the preparation for revenge, and, if truth and justice make a difficulty, they must give way, too. This is the most solemn warning which France presents to the civilized world to-day. A cultured people furiously clutching a sword, and then finding it broken in its hand—there is the vengeful military spirit, when it is finished, bringing forth moral death.

SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN ENGLAND.

KESWICK, August 26, 1898.

No one who visits England at long intervals can help being struck by the rapidity of the social, if not of the political, changes which go on in it. They seem to me, changeful as our society in America is usually considered, much more rapid and more far-reaching than any which we experience. In fact, I venture to say that a person who came back to America after an absence of twenty years would find vastly less to puzzle or surprise him than a person who, after a similar period, came back to England.

The foremost and most conspicuous of all these changes is one which Mr. George Russell styles, in his recent book, the "social equalization." It would be a mistake to ascribe this wholly, or in the main, to any modification of ideas in the democratic direction. Of course the extension of the suffrage in 1867 has had much to do with it, but its principal causes are economical. That very select class which Miss Austen wrote so much about, the "county families," which ruled England fifty years ago, and not only sternly refused admission to "trade," but made "trade" its principal subject of ridicule and contempt, has grown very poor, partly because, in the seventies, it was so rich. Things were so prosperous with the land at that time that rents, settlements, allowances to younger sons and daughters, went up with a bound. Houses and establishments were enlarged, hunters multiplied, a "little shooting" became more and more necessary to a young man's year. Country-house life was probably never so attractive and hospitable as between 1870 and 1880.

Then came not only the American competition, but the competition of nearly all the waste places of the earth. The compound cylinder struck a frightful blow at the landholder in all the old countries. Wheat, and all produce that would bear carriage, went down with a rush. Rents were reduced by one-half, or nearly one-half—fully 40 per cent.—or else the farm came back on the landlord's hands. The landed class found itself face to face with liabilities contracted when incomes were twice as large, and the liabilities remained unchanged, no matter what became of the incomes. Retrenchment has since then been the order of the day. Country houses have been shut up, or the owners have gone to live in one wing or in the gatehouse, or the whole premises have been let to Americans or to "people in trade." In Scotland, the old gentry have been able to fall back on letting their "deer forests," or moors, to the sportsmen from America or the great towns. But the English had no such resource. They had no moors but their paternal acres, in which there was, of course, some sport, but very moderate sport. The result of this has been the spread of a sort of social desolation through a very large part of England. As you travel through the country, you see one stately house after another shut up or let, and hear that the owner is hiding his poverty on the Continent, or living at some watering-place on the rent of his place. I passed, the other day, through one of the most fertile and prosperous counties in England, and found that the country houses were nearly all hired at low rents by Liverpool merchants. The owner of one of the most "historic" of manors, the lineal inheritor of a great name, was nestling, with a small income, "in the Prince of Wales's set," that paradise of would-be "smart" Americans.

All this, of course, accounts in some degree for the decline of the old aristocracy, but only in some degree. Say what we will about birth, and "long descent," and "broad acres," they cannot hold their own without money—that is, cash. The county families have had their fall broken. The bitter cup of social equalization has been made palatable by the energy with which the old "middle class" has made haste to meet them. The rise of this class in affluence through commerce and manufactures has been just as remarkable as the decline of the land-holding class through the fall in agricultural produce. The "millionaires" are nearly as numerous in England as with us, and exhibit almost the same characteristics. They have generally begun like ours, as "poor boys," but not so often in hardware stores. Of course, this is more of a disadvantage here than it would be in America. As soon as they appear on the scene as aristocrats and statesmen, they find themselves in company with men who have been educated at the public schools and universities, and have more or less general cultivation, and are already in possession of the Government; and the constituencies are still under the influence of the tradition which gives high places to "gentlemen." For these disadvantages, the millionaire here seeks to make up by lavish donations to the funds of one or other of the political parties, and he gets his return, not, as with us, in the shape of a foreign mission or senatorship, but in a knighthood or baronetcy. A knighthood or baronetcy is not, nowadays, a great honor. There are too many knights and baronets to make it a distinction. People are not much overawed by hearing that Lipton, the tea man, is now Sir Thomas, or Maple, the furniture man, is now Sir Blundell. But it lifts him out of the ranks of his former associates. It sends his wife in to dinner before them, and, most important of all, it makes her a "Lady." In common parlance, in a shop, for instance, she is known by the same title as the wife of an Earl or Marquis—that is, she is "Lady Lipton" or "Lady Maple," and the wife of Lord Salisbury is only "Lady Salisbury." So the wives of these great men are very eager to have their husbands "Sirs." The title is easily had, by a liberal giver, and there is so much of it now that it is bestowed almost contemptuously.

You can hardly understand the value put on it by the middle class unless you live in England, and see how this class is gradually supplanting the old land-owning class in the enjoyment of the good things of the world. In Scotland every pretty hillside is adorned with the "castle" of a tea man or an iron man, or a cotton or borax man. He is shooting on most of the moors. He is dreadfully particular about strangers disturbing his deer, and has great contempt for the tourist who does not go to Scotland to fish or kill game. He adopts as well as he can the manners and slang of the upper class. He too often drops his h's, but he also "drops" money so plentifully in invitations that this defect is more and more overlooked by people to whom, thirty years ago, it would have been social damnation. The old upper class has become very indulgent to rich men. Then, the millionaire lends money freely to all impoverished owners of great names, in return for invitations and "introductions to society." I have heard of many cases in which he pays the cost of balls at their houses, in return for the presence of some of his own friends. And then, he is even more interested in the royal family, and more concerned about its welfare than they are. He has, too, gone over, bag and baggage, not only to the Conservative party, but to the Ritualists. There is no cause so potent for the strength of the Conservative party to-day as the succumbing of the middle class to the social influence which the Conservatives have cunningly brought to bear on them during the last twenty years. There could not have been a better device, as I wrote to you a year ago, than the "Primrose League" for winning Radicals over to Conservatism, for it seems to open the way for social contact with "smart people" to the commercial classes. Forty years ago this was well-nigh impossible. The Tories were surrounded with a social fence, against which the Liberals, and especially the Nonconformists,

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thundered vainly. There was no use in turning Tory for social purposes. The Liberal could not get into the charmed circle if he was in trade. But now that the fence has been pulled down, "all are welcome."

Nonconformity is not the old Liberal force it used to be. Its interest in public affairs has grown languid; its interest in sport and athletics has greatly increased. "The second horse," as an Archbishop has wittily remarked, "always stops at the church [Episcopal] door." Part of this, undoubtedly, is due, as I learn from the published complaints, to the weakening of religious faith, but fully as much, I am convinced, to the increasing ease with which moneyed men and their families can become "swells." I have no doubt that, but for this increasing ease, Mr. Chamberlain, for instance, would still be a plain Birmingham Unitarian, thundering against aristocracy instead of associating with "English gentlemen" and "taking tea with Duchesses." This accounts, too, in part, for the great strides made in the Established Church by Ritualism, which has now overspread the whole country, and is closely assimilating the church services to those of Catholicism. The minister has become a "priest." The service is "mass." Prayers for the dead are used and recommended. Auricular confession is widely enjoined and practised. There is much procession with crosses and banners and candles, and much cross-kissing. The priest more and more keeps the "holy eucharist" to himself. The prayer-book and the statute are more and more disregarded for the clergyman's own notions of what is effective. There is widespread popular agitation on the subject, and many scenes of violence and riot in the churches. There has been a fierce debate about the matter in Parliament, and a fiercer one is going on in the newspapers; all the leading ones being strongly anti-ritualistic. The bishops are called on to interfere, but, except one or two, they refuse to stir. Some openly favor the movement. Others, such as the Archbishop of York, return sharp, snubbing answers to Protestant appeals and remonstrances. What makes this the more important is that the High Church party hold that the bishops are the fountains of liturgical law, and that whatever can be "squeezed out of the bishops," as Canon Gore says, is clear gain. The explanation, probably, is that the bishops consider the Ritualists the hardest-working portion of the clergy, which they are, and have good reason to dread their seceding, if checked in their popish antics.

Moreover, they are firm friends of the present Government. It owed its success at the last election largely to their assistance, and it has repaid them by the Education Bill of two years ago, which gives them back the control of so many of the schools. The aristocracy, too, as a rule, are with the Ritualists, and this gives them the support of the newly enriched, and makes the opposition of the old Dissenters feeble. Fifty years ago their performances would have raised a storm that would have shaken England to its centre. There is much and growing opposition to-day, but it is comparatively feeble. Football and cricket excite more interest than auricular confession or prayers for the dead.

But the rich men are busy restoring churches and making donations. Hooley, the ridiculous company "promoter," has just "burst up," and has been "giving away" many needy aristocrats, to whom he says he gave large sums for serving on his boards of directors. He gave St. Paul's Cathedral a golden communion service, which it has kept so far, in spite of the exposure of his practices. In his heyday he bought estates which gave him the right of presentation to six livings, or, in other words, authorized him, a sort of English "Jim" Fisk, to choose pastors for six congregations. No wonder, in view of these things, that some of the Liberal wags have suggested that "Hooley, Hooley, Hooley" should be inscribed on the sacramental vessels. Nor is it wonderful, as good observers assure me, that the refusal of the bishops to interfere makes it pretty certain that the present agitation will result before long in disestablishment. England, in spite of everything, cannot be carried back to Rome by a parcel of young clergymen, for the laity, taken as a whole, is, when roused, bitterly opposed to Ritualism. As Jenny Geddes cried in St. Giles's in Edinburgh two and a half centuries ago, when she flung her stool at the parson, "They will not have the mass said at their lug [ear]."

Nothing gives a stronger impression of the loss of tenacity among the conservative upper class than their behavior about Gladstone. For at least ten years before his death all Tory England reviled him in terms usually applied to thieves and pickpockets. To avow yourself his friend excluded you from "smart" society. I remember vividly the (one might say) almost horror with which a court lady heard from me at a dinner-party about five years ago, that I admired him. The violence of language in which all the smart and would-be smart people, even ladies, indulged, with regard to him, was astounding. Elderly men wanted to hang him; elderly women expressed the hope which they felt every day that, on opening their paper, they would read of his death. Wherever you went on the Continent, you found twopenny Englishmen trying to show they belonged to "good society" by abusing Gladstone, the greatest English civilian of the century. At his death, the pride of the English people and their admiration for him burst forth in the most wonderful funeral demonstration ever seen at Westminster. It was probably the most extraordinary expression of popular love and reverence for a single man ever witnessed in England. Now you would expect that "the classes," who reviled him like a criminal during his lifetime, would have, through decent self-respect, at least kept away from his funeral, on seeing that the funeral was to be a popular display of admiration for the man and the statesman. But they did not; they were conspicuously there. I have heard of only one prominent Gladstone hater who left London in order not to make himself ridiculous as a mourner. They pronounced eulogies on his life and character in Parliament. Not only this, but they are now vying with each other in seeking places on committees and boards to get up memorials to him. The Duke of Westminster is the head of one such movement, although he, a few years ago, would not allow a fine portrait of Gladstone to hang in his dining-room, and *sold it*. What a light this throws, not only on the Tory attitude towards Gladstone when living, but on Tory character and self-respect now that he is dead. All the while that they were loading him with vituperation, and describing him to the people as a monster of selfish ambition, and heaping flowers on Disraeli's grave, every man of "light and leading" in England knew that the real Gladstone was just what he was described to be by Dr. Butler, the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in his funeral address before the Mayor and Corporation of Cambridge. No man fills a higher position in the moral and intellectual world in England than Dr. Butler. There are few men in that world who would not prefer to be "Master of Trinity" to filling any other place in church or state. And here is how he described Gladstone, in what I think the finest memorial address which his death called forth:

"My friends, we should speak the truth at all times, and not least now. I put it to you: Am I going a whit beyond the strictest truth in saying that, of all the great men among whom they are now laying the foremost man of our time, there is not one—not even the saintly Wilberforce—whom it is more natural to link in thought with the One Holy Presence, with 'the still small voice'? . . . Critics, friendly and unfriendly, might weigh the varied elements of his rare intellectual structure; its range, its subtlety, its mastery over men; but the verdict of multitudes and of nations has been rather this: He gave us many gifts; but the most precious and the most enduring was himself, his character. He lived and labored with God before his eyes. 'He had the fear of God before him, and made a conscience of what he did.' He loved righteousness and hated iniquity. His heart was with the poor and the wronged and the downtrodden, and dear was their blood in his sight. It is this conviction which at this hour draws us 'with the cords of a man' and makes us all of one mind." E. L. G.

MME. DARMESTETER'S RENAN.—III.

PARIS, August 20, 1898.

Renan was not excessively discouraged by his defeat at the elections of 1870. Though a Conservative was elected at Meaux, there was a marked Liberal tendency in the general elections. The Emperor called Émile Ollivier to the Cabinet. Renan was deceived by the plébiscite of the 8th of May, which proclaimed the satisfaction of seven millions and a half of Frenchmen. After seventeen years of opposition, he accepted Louis Napoleon hardly six months before his fall. In the month of July, 1870, he left France with his friend Jerome Napoleon for a journey in northern waters. Neither of them had the slightest apprehension of war. At Tromsöe, Norway, they learned that war had been declared between France and Prussia on the 19th of July. Renan returned immediately to France. The dream of his life had been a pacific federation of the united states of Europe under the leadership of France and Germany. He was an admirer of German culture. During the war, he wrote in favor of Alsace and Lorraine an eloquent letter to David Strauss, and tried to demonstrate that Germany would be wise in offering France conditions which would not prevent her becoming some day her ally. The true danger to civilization was the Slav, hostile to all liberalism. "Beware," said he, "lest France ally herself with the first tempter, and show endless complacency towards all Russian ambitions; lest she have one object left, a war of extermination against the Germanic race."

Renan's reflections during what Victor Hugo called "l'Année Terrible" are found in his 'Intellectual and Moral Reform,' which appeared almost immediately after the war; a work full of generous and noble thoughts on the possible reconstitution of France, on the education of democracy, on

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the conditions of government, on universal suffrage, on decentralization. France paid little attention to the advice given her; the message of the new prophet was not heard in the tumult of conflicting passions. The message itself was too full of doubts, of hesitations; it had not the resolute accent of an Ezekiel. During the Commune, Renan could be seen walking in the beautiful gardens of Versailles, away from his favorite books, and left to himself. The genesis of the 'Philosophical Dialogues' is to be found in that period, though the book appeared only five years afterwards.

"We estimate," says Madame Darmesteter, "the violence of a tempest by the ruin it has made in its course. Let us compare these Dialogues, written in 1871, with the noble serenity of the 'Apostles' or of 'St. Paul,' published in 1869, and we shall perceive what a deep commotion was produced, in the thought of Renan, by the war and the Commune. His disenchantment embraced his own country and the country of the conqueror, and confounded in the same deception the two fundamental types of human society. For democracy, see what it comes to: an unchained Commune, shooting its hostages. And the feudal and military aristocracy of Germany—it despises the law of nations, burning the hut as well as the palace."

In the 'Dialogues' Renan tries to rise above all human miseries; he takes refuge in ideas. This is how Madame Darmesteter sums up his philosophical doctrine:

"(1.) God does not proceed through any particular wills.
"(2.) The universe marches to its ends by a sure instinct, and develops itself by an internal necessity.
"(3.) The Ideal is eternal; it exists; it is not yet materially realized; one day it will be conscious of itself.
"(4.) Participation in the mysterious work of the universe takes place through morals, science, art. All disinterested effort helps to preserve the small residuum of good which alone subsists. It is by the small morsel of ideal which we bring to this reserve of the eternal progress, that each of us lives for ever."

This doctrine of development (which he took from the German philosophy) has been somewhat modified in our time by Darwinism. Renan was, so to speak, a Darwinian before the letter. He very early embraced the theory of the survival of the fittest, and applied it to nations as well as to individuals. Though he was a liberal, he was intensely aristocratic, and believed only in the "happy few." The masses did not exist for him, except as the soil out of which were to grow individuals, the finest specimens of mankind. "What does it matter," he writes, "that millions of stupid beings who cover the planet should ignore the truth or should deny it, if the intelligent see it and adore it?" And in another place he says, "Think of converting to reason one after another the two billions of beings who people the earth! What an idea! The immense majority of human brains is refractory to even slightly elevated ideas."

Renan continued his 'Beginnings of Christianity' in the 'Antichrist.' He visited Italy in 1875 to study the ruins of the Rome of Nero. He writes in the preface:

"I will not conceal from you the fact that the love of history, the incomparable pleasure which is derived from the spectacle of the evolution of humanity, have peculiarly attracted me in this volume. I have had too much pleasure in making it to ask for any other recompense than to have made it. I have often reproached myself for taking so much pleasure in my library while my country is dying in a slow agony. But my conscience is tranquil."

Madame Darmesteter is quite right in saying that Renan's mind was the broadest of our time and the least passionate. It was incapable of passion; in his rare affirmations, he never forgot that, in all human affairs, there is always a side unseen. He saw all sides of an object with the rapidity of the cinematograph, and formed one image from a thousand images. This faculty is often pushed to extremes. Renan evidently goes too far when he imagines Saint Paul returning in his old age to the pagan doctrine of Epicurus. "We should like," he says, "to imagine Paul sceptical, after the storm, abandoned, betrayed by his people, alone, in the disenchantment of age; it would please us to have the scales falling a second time from his eyes, and our mild incredulity would have its revenge if the most dogmatic of men had died in sorrow, in despair (let us say rather in quiet, on some shore or road in Spain), saying also, 'Ergo erravi.'" Madame Darmesteter evidently does not like this dilettantism; she remarks that the 'Antichrist' was written under the influence of a journey to Rome, where Renan saw, in his mind's eye, the Rome of Paul and the Rome of Nero face to face. She reviews the last volumes of the 'Beginnings of Christianity'; she sees in the volume on Marcus Aurelius an image of Renan, who, like the Roman Emperor, ended in detaching moral beauty completely from any fixed theology. Marcus Aurelius was led to write his book by reading that of Epictetus; and it is probably from reading Marcus Aurelius that Renan was led to write his charming 'Souvenirs,' in which he undertook to enumerate all the good influences which had surrounded him from childhood. No book made so much impression in France since the 'Mémoires d'Outre-tombe' of Chateaubriand. It appeared in 1883, and soon afterwards Renan revisited the town of Tréguier; he chose a home in Brittany, near Lannion, the modest house of Rosmapamon, which his children continue to inhabit. The women of the country were taught to admire this great man—"they did not always know the reason why. 'He is a very great saint, sir,' said an old woman." The men glorified him chiefly as a Republican; they had not read the 'Intellecual and Moral Reform.'

After the charming, sentimental, and picturesque 'Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse' appeared the Study on Ecclesiastes, which Mme. Darmesteter pronounces the vademecum of disenchantment. "The author of Ecclesiastes," says Renan, "is the author of the book of Job, six hundred or seven hundred years old. The eloquent and terrible complaint of the old Hebrew book, the almost blasphemous objurgations of the old patriarch, have become the sadly resigned badinage of a worldly scholar." Cannot something of this sort be said of the 'Philosophical Dramas' written by Renan at various times, at Ischia, at Rosmapamon, and published together in 1888? The Dramas show us the gradual reconciliation of Renan to democracy. "At the time of the Commune," says Mme. Darmesteter, "our thinker did not covenant with Caliban; who would have thought that one day Renan would find him a very good Prince? . . . He went over to Caliban, a brutal and vulgar champion of liberty and progress." The Dramas have the great defect of not being dramatic; they are, in fact, conversations on a variety of things. What shall we say of the 'Abbesse de Jouarre'? Renan was rather old to write about the passion of love. Mme. Darmesteter calls him a *Cupidon retardataire.* He was ill and suffering much from rheumatism, when he amused himself by going over subjects which belong peculiarly to youth. But his was essentially a many-sided mind; he was a sort of Montaigne—very *divers*, as was said in old French.

In finishing, I cannot sufficiently recommend Mme. Darmesteter's book. It is a very remarkable study of a very remarkable man.

Correspondence.

THE ENGLISH ATTITUDE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The admitted beginning of an era of good feeling between England and the United States must indisputably be set down as one of the best results of the war. That cordial sympathy between the two nations has long existed below the occasionally ruffled surface, has not escaped competent observers. It is now clear that, during the dark days when the English Government looked coldly on the efforts to preserve the Union, the great bulk of the English people felt strongly for the Federal cause. The sister of one of the most distinguished of recent English men of letters remarked lately that the English had for a long time liked us—that it was we who seemed eager to provoke them; and it is doubtless true that, but for the supposed need of coddling the Irish by assuming a bellicose air towards England, the era of good feeling might have been ushered in under less suspicious auspices.

In so far as the increased sympathy between the two nations means a closer binding spiritually, intellectually, commercially, it is pure gain to civilization. The essential objects of both are best served by peace; the main interests of both are internal interests—the development of trade, the promotion of education, the diffusion of the means to comfort and happiness. But, unfortunately, however England may value these as her main ends, they cannot be her sole ends, as up to this time they have been ours. Through her colonies she is inextricably involved in the tangled web of European politics and society, and she is compelled, therefore, to be as ready for a military emergency as the most warlike Power in Europe.

In a sense, then, there is something inopportune in the unusual cordiality manifest on this side of the water. The problems arising from the disintegration of China threaten the world with a new and more serious Eastern question. The "open door" for which England contends is repugnant to the policy of the Continental governments, and for the moment Great Britain faces alone the combination at the head of which looms her dreaded enemy, the Muscovite. During the session of Parliament just closed, this spectre was constantly in evidence, and the Government has clearly at no time been free from the apprehension of trouble in the East.

I submit, therefore, that we cannot regard English approval of our conduct and English encouragement towards a policy of colonial expansion as quite disinterested. I have for some weeks relied wholly on English sources for my knowledge of American

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events, and I confess that, while I have been delighted with their unstinted praise of our sailors and soldiers, I have been somewhat dismayed by their expectation that we shall appropriate all the Spanish colonial possessions. The wish is perhaps father to the thought; for the proximity of the Philippines to China is uncommonly suggestive. But since the excitement of unexpected opportunity opens to us a dangerous temptation, it behooves us to understand clearly the situation of those whose sympathy and approval may to a degree guide us. It ought to be made perfectly plain to the Jingoes in our own midst, as well as to the organs of public opinion in England, that we will take no step that is calculated to involve us in the complications of the Chinese question.

Anxious as I am to promote disinterested good feeling between ourselves and England, there is one point of which I would not have Americans lose sight. For the last fifty years or more every European nation has boasted a race mission. The English must spread the Anglo-Saxon gospel, the Germans the Teutonic, the Russian the Slavic. Each of them assumes its own unity and identifies its origin and its mission. Nothing could be more illogical than for us to become part of an Anglo-Saxon crusade, as was urged by an after-dinner speaker in my hearing a few weeks ago, unless, indeed, it be to become part of some other race crusade. It is with some such high-sounding title as this that an Anglo-American alliance would be proclaimed and justified. As a matter of fact, we are a nation, but not a race; we are the strange product of many mingled races. We represent, therefore, an idea that goes beyond race to humanity. Our devotion is to an idea; and we should violate irreparably our history and our theory, should we attempt to impose ourselves upon any of the more or less plastic peoples of the earth. Let us by all means aim to enlarge the interests which we share with England; let us continue to grow closer through trade, science, literature, art. But at the same time let us pursue exactly the same policy with other nations, to the end that, by influence and by example, we may become the main bulwark of peace and the arts of peace throughout Christendom.

ABRAHAM FLEXNER.

LONDON, August 19, 1898.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you permit an old subscriber to say a word of protest against your diagnosis of the political situation in Pennsylvania contained in the *Nation* for August 25? No proof can be produced to support the assertion that Mr. Jenks is an ally of the Quay machine and was nominated through its influence. The platform was confined to State issues. The convention expressly refused to incorporate therein any endorsement of free silver or any affirmance of the Chicago platform. This course was taken in order to enable the Gold Democrats and other conservative citizens to vote for the nominees without compromising their position on the currency, the tariff, or other national issues not involved in the present campaign. Had the convention been controlled by Quay, it is clear, I think, that a different course would have been followed. At a conference of Gold Democrats from all parts of the State, including, I believe, a majority of the State committee of the Palmer and Buckner organization, this action of the Democratic State convention was accepted as satisfactory for the present juncture, and the nomination of Mr. Jenks was heartily endorsed. Among those who earnestly urged this course were such uncompromising anti-silver men as Mr. Hancock of Venango, Mr. Farquhar of York, and Mr. Bullitt of Philadelphia. I believe that a large majority of the Gold Democrats will vote for Mr. Jenks, and that they will be fully justified in doing so.

State issues are of paramount importance in this campaign. It should be the earnest desire of all good citizens to effect the overthrow of the corrupt Republican domination which has so long disgraced our State, and the crisis is accentuated by the circumstance that the political fate of the most odious and insolent political boss, the most offensive sample of the "one-man power" in politics, is involved in the contest. It seems to me that, with every good citizen, the only question should be, Which of the two opposing candidates has the more hopeful chance of "turning the rascals out"? As to personal fitness, between Mr. Jenks and Dr. Swallow, if training and experience go for anything, the preference should be given to the former; as to following, if we are to judge by facts and figures rather than by guesses and hopes, Mr. Jenks certainly has the advantage. He is the candidate of the Democratic party, and that party last year polled 242,000 votes as its minimum. It was then thoroughly discredited, suffering from the effects of its defeat in the Presidential contest, and it had furthermore handicapped itself by an express and defiant reaffirmation of the Chicago platform, so that it had completely alienated all the Gold Democrats —not merely those who did not vote for Bryan in 1896, but also a number, not inconsiderable, who did. At the same election Dr. Swallow received 118,000 votes, and if to this be added the 15,000 votes cast for Thompson, it gives a total independent vote of 133,000, which included the votes of an unknown quantity of the Gold Democrats. With these figures before us, it is difficult to understand how it can be disputed that Mr. Jenks has prima facie a much better standing than Dr. Swallow—better by upwards of 100,000 votes.

The only objection urged against Mr. Jenks is that he is a free-silver man and voted for Bryan, but I entirely fail to see how his views on the currency or any other national question are of the least consequence in the present issue; for with all such questions the Governor of a State has nothing to do. The question in Pennsylvania is simply one of common honesty. Are our officials to continue to be above the command, "Thou shalt not steal"?

Has not the *Nation* been insistent in urging good citizens not to allow their judgment in State and municipal elections to be warped or confused by party war cries about protection, sound currency, and other matters of national concern? Why, then, should it now contend, contrary to all its former teaching, that an honorable gentleman, whose integrity and capacity in public affairs have been proved, is unfit to be Governor of Pennsylvania because his views on the currency question may be unsound? Finally, is the *Nation* prepared to vouch for Dr. Swallow as a sound-money man? For whom did he vote in 1896?—Respectfully,

ROWLAND EVANS.

HAVERFORD, PA., August 29, 1898.

[The evidence which has been published that Quay desired the nomination of Mr. Jenks, because he considered him a weaker Democratic candidate than Judge Gordon, who was warmly favored by nearly all Independents, seems to us conclusive. While Mr. Jenks is "an honorable gentleman," those Independents most familiar with his character do not believe that he could be depended upon to oppose the Democratic allies of Quay who promoted his nomination. At best, Mr. Jenks seems but a respectable figurehead, while Dr. Swallow is a man of tremendous force; and one could only hope that Mr. Jenks, if elected, would not be subservient, while everybody knows that Dr. Swallow would be the unrelenting foe of the machine. The one supreme State issue in Pennsylvania is whether "Thou shalt not steal" shall be restored as the rule of government. We believe that, as election draws nearer, there will be a growing feeling that Dr. Swallow is the one candidate who represents the right side of this issue.—ED. NATION.]

POLITICS IN A WESTERN UNIVERSITY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Board of Regents of the University of the State of Washington will probably have an exciting time at their next meeting, to be held September 14, some of the Regents having declared their intention of resigning if a certain measure, which was postponed for final action from their meeting of August 12, carries. Final action on this measure will probably determine the future relation to the University of a member of the Washington Legislature of 1893.

This legislator has been in very close touch with all the affairs of the University since that time, being, in the years 1894, 1895, and 1896, in his dual office of Secretary of the Board of Regents and Registrar of the Faculty (to say nothing of his duties as lecturer on Forestry and instructor in the History of the Northwest), practically the Board of Regents and Faculty of the University. If the Regents did anything, it was because he inspired them to action. If the Faculty did anything that did not appear to emanate from him and to be done because of him, it was because they were fortunate enough to be able to do it without his knowledge. The secret of this power was the fact that, as a member of the 1893 Legislature, he had been instrumental in securing for the University its first liberal appropriation ($39,000 for two years' total running expenses, and $125,000 for buildings and $25,000 for other improvements).

In the autumn of 1896 he again made the "run" for the Legislature, but was badly defeated. Although he was drawing a professor's salary from the University, he made the "run" on the ground that it was necessary that he be a member of the Legislature in order that the interests of the University should surely receive proper attention at the hands of the legislators, even going to the

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extreme of issuing a circular to this effect, and mailing it to the voters of his district, which was the district in which the University was located.

The "Fusionists" determined to oust him from the most lucrative office he had ever held, and at the same time rid the University of him. Accordingly, when Rogers became Governor, he took a high-handed method to accomplish this result. His predecessor in office had appointed three Regents, whose appointments had not been confirmed by the Senate, and a fourth was about to resign to accept a Federal appointment under the McKinley Administration. Gov. Rogers withheld the appointments of his predecessor from the Senate of the 1897 Legislature, and consequently, when it adjourned, he had the appointing of four Regents. These he appointed in March, 1897, making a board with a Fusionist majority (five Fusionists and two Republicans). Since this time the University has had three different presidents, besides an acting president (Fusionist) on its pay-roll; twelve new members in a Faculty of twenty-two members, and at the same time a reduction of the number to twenty; four changes in the conditions for graduation, and various other minor experiences too numerous to mention. Between the first day of April, 1897, and the first day of April, 1898, the Governor appointed seven other Regents (upon three removals from office), making eleven appointments in a little over twelve months. Finally, in May, 1898, the board ousted the Professor of American History; but President number three, who was elected soon afterwards, has recommended that he be reinstated. This recommendation was postponed for final consideration till September 14. The indications are that four members will vote for the recommendation, and that others will have the privilege of carrying out their declared intention of resigning.

It is needless to say that students were graduated in May who had not completed their course in the regular way, that the attendance has fallen off, that there is general unrest in the Faculty and among the people of the State concerning the University. Is there not some way whereby we can take our educational affairs out of the hands of the politicians? W. F. E.

SAINTE-BEUVE ON FRENCH WEAKNESS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The shameful spectacle which France is offering to the world to-day is the natural outcome of a long process of self-adulation. France has never known herself as others knew her. With all her achievements in civilization, she has always lacked the faculty of self-criticism. *La grande nation* is first in the arts of war and peace, her honor is immaculate—such has been the burden of innumerable songs and patriotic speeches. Nearly half a century ago Sainte-Beuve deplored the tendency of his countrymen to glorify everything French, in a passage which will bear reprinting to-day. In an article on "Des Lectures Publiques du Soir," he wrote:

"Dans ces deux Cours je voudrais que, tout en insistant sur les beautés et sur les grandeurs de la littérature francaise et de l'histoire nationale, on se gardât bien de dire ce qui se dit et se répète partout, dans les Collèges et même dans les Académies, aux jours de solennité, que le peuple français est le plus grand et le plus sensé de tous les peuples, et notre littérature la première de toutes les littératures. Je voudrais qu'on se contentât de dire que c'est une des plus belles, et qu'on laissât entrevoir que le monde n'a pas commencé et ne finit pas à nous.

"Je voudrais qu'en disant nos belles qualités comme peuple, à des hommes qui en sont déjà assez pénétrés, on ajoutât, en le prouvant quelquefois par des exemples, que nous avons aussi quelques défauts; qu'en France ce qu'on a le plus, c'est l'essor et l'élan, que ce qui manque, c'est la consistance et le caractère; que cela a manqué à la noblesse autrefois et pourrait bien manquer au peuple aujourd'hui, et qu'il faut se prémunir de ce côté et se tenir sur ses gardes. En un mot, échauffer et entretenir le sentiment patriotique en l'éclairant, sans tomber dans le lieu commun national, qui est une autre sorte d'ignorance qui s'infatue et qui s'enivre, ce serait là l'esprit dont je voudrais voir animé cet humble et capital enseignment."

But it is idle to expect the voice of a Sainte-Beuve to be heeded in France to-day. Criticism of national follies by literary "pessimists" is just as much out of favor in France nowadays as it is in our own country.—Very truly yours, G. P.

Riseleys, N. Y., September 2, 1898.

Notes.

Macmillan Co.'s formidable list of autumn publications includes a new edition of McCarthy's Life of Gladstone; 'The Life and Letters of Archbishop Benson,' edited by his son; 'Cardinal Newman as Anglican and Catholic,' by Edmund Sheridan Purcell; Sidney Lee's Life of Shakspere, being his article in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' revised and expanded to nearly twice the original size; the first volume of a 'Popular History of France,' by the Hon. Thomas E. Watson; 'The United Kingdom,' a political history in two volumes, by Goldwin Smith; 'Home Life in Colonial Days,' by Mrs. Alice Morse Earle; 'European History: An Outline of its Development,' by Prof. George B. Adams of Yale; 'A History of Greece for High Schools and Academies,' by George Willis Botsford of Harvard; 'The Sources of Greek History,' by Anna Boynton Thompson; 'A Source-Book of American History,' by Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart; 'Japan,' by Mrs. Hugh Fraser, with illustrations; a wholly new edition of Prof. Charles H. Moore's 'Development and Character of Gothic Architecture'; Auguste Mau's 'Pompeii, Its Life and Art,' translated by Prof. Francis W. Kelsey; 'Philadelphia,' by Agnes Repplier, with many illustrations; 'The Philippine Islands and their People,' from personal observation, by Prof. Dean C. Worcester of the University of Michigan; 'Highways and Byways of North Wales,' by A. G. Bradley, with illustrations by Joseph Pennell and Hugh Thomson; 'English Literature, from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest,' by Stopford A. Brooke; 'From Chaucer to Arnold: Types of Literary Art,' by Andrew J. George; 'A Short History of English Literature,' by Prof. George Saintsbury; 'Chaucer's Prologue and the Knight's Tale,' edited by Prof. Mark H. Liddell of the University of Texas; 'Representative English Comedies,' in five volumes, under the general editorship of Prof. Charles Mills Gayley of the University of California; 'The New England Poets,' by William Cranston Lawton; 'Four-footed Americans and their Kin,' by Mabel Osgood Wright and Frank M. Chapman, with seventy-two illustrations by Ernest Seton Thompson; 'Instinct and Reason,' by Henry Rutgers Marshall; 'The Distribution of Wealth,' by Prof. John B. Clark of Columbia University; 'Rise and Growth of American Politics,' by Henry J. Ford; and 'The Evolution of Our Native Fruits,' by L. H. Bailey.

Fall announcements by G. P. Putnam's Sons are 'The Life of George Borrow,' by Prof. William I. Knapp of the University of Chicago; a revised and enlarged edition of 'The Life of John Paterson, Major-General in the Revolutionary Army,' by his great-grandson, Prof. Thomas Egleston; 'The Life of Henry Bradley Plant,' founder of the well-known Plant system of railroads and steamships, by G. Hutchinson Smyth, D.D.; 'Alfred Tennyson: His Homes, his Friends, and his Work,' by Elizabeth Luther Cary; 'The Romance of the House of Savoy, 1003-1519,' by Alethea Wiel; 'The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America,' by Prof. Bernard Moses; 'A History of the Dutch People,' from the Dutch of Prof. Petrus Johannes Blok, by Oscar A. Bierstadt and Ruth Putnam; and 'Historic Towns of New England,' edited by Lyman P. Powell, with many illustrations.

R. F. Fenno & Co. will publish 'The Fall of Santiago,' by Thomas J. Vivian; 'The Real Bismarck,' from the German of Jules Hoche, by Mrs. Charles R. Rogers; 'The Story of a Genius,' from the German of Ossip Schubin; a translation of Maurus Jokai's 'Golden Age of Transylvania'; 'Wedlock,' by John Strange Winter; and 'The Romance of a Midshipman,' by W. Clark Russell.

Ginn & Co. have nearly ready 'Essentials of Psychology,' by Colin S. Buell.

'The Land of the Long Night,' by Paul du Chaillu, is in the press of Drexel Biddle, Philadelphia.

The Werner Co., Akron, Ohio, announce 'The Story of America,' by Hezekiah Butterworth.

The Christian Literature Co., as we have already pointed out, is doing a good service in publishing an American edition of Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the East," and we notice the appearance of two more volumes. One of these relates more especially to India; it is the late lamented Bühler's translations under the title 'Sacred Laws of the Aryas.' The other belongs to Persia and Zoroaster, being Darmesteter's translation of the 'Avesta.'

Amid the diverse mass of literature on the subject of the Philippines which has appeared in the wake of conquest, to satisfy the curiosity of the newly aroused interest in those distant islands, 'Yesterdays in the Philippines,' by Joseph Earle Stevens (Scribners), is of sufficient merit to deserve a passing notice. Compiled, with the exception of a single chapter devoted to anti-annexation arguments, from the author's letters or journal, the book is of necessity an account of his daily life during his two years' sojourn in Manila, which occurred just prior to the present native rebellion, yet manages to give us a good idea of the city, its peoples and its ways; of the spots of natural interest in its near vicinity; and of some of the more remote islands of the archipelago. Mr. Stevens's powers of observation, sense of humor, and half-serious, half-jesting methods of description, relieve his narrative from the heaviness which is apt to attend a statement of facts; while a number of excellent photographs add greatly to the book's attractiveness. The author's

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style, in spite of the absence of self-restraint pardonable in home letters, warrants expectation of excellent performance if Mr. Stevens should ever find another topic.

Mr. Richard Davey's 'Cuba, Past and Present' (Scribners) has no excuse for existence in book form except that frankly avowed in the preface—the momentary absorption of the world in the fate of the island. The book is of English make, the author an ex-journalist of this city, and his style quite wanting in literary distinction of any kind. Five chapters describe his commonplace personal observations in Cuba after emancipation, and he works in a chapter on Nassau, "An Isle of June—A Contrast." The rest is poor history. Altogether, 277 pages of fair type are thus amassed, and a few illustrations help out the illusion. To the credit side should be placed a good index and a clear map of the chief West Indian islands, the Bahamas, and the southern end of Florida.

Those who are interested in the drama, for example, and in the histrionic productions of other nations, will read with considerable interest the chapter on the drama of India, in Frazer's recent 'Literary History of India' (Scribners), which describes also the representation of a modern Hindu play founded on the stories of ancient Sanskrit literature. The book contains much general information regarding India, past and present, as viewed in its literature. Lyrical poetry, however, seems to have come tardy off.

The second volume of the 'Compendium of Geography and Travel (New Issue),' published in London by Edward Stanford, is on North America, and has been prepared by Mr. Henry Gannett of the United States Geological Survey. It is in all respects a very attractive volume to the eye, being provided with copious, fresh, and well-chosen illustrations in half-tone—topographical, ethnological, and picturesque—and especially with a series of maps, general and special, including geology, orography, rainfall, temperature, forests, coal-fields, population, race and nativity, territorial accessions, navigability of rivers, etc. The principal limitation of this survey is the necessity of enormous compression; but exception might also be taken to the arrangement of topics, *e. g.*, of Indians and Alaska in their respective places, and to the arbitrary collocation of the great cities in the chapter with that caption. Abstinence from prophesying would have suppressed the hope on p. 224 that the reign of Tammany is over in New York.

'The Publishers' Trade-List Annual' for 1898 (*Publishers' Weekly*) marks the twenty-sixth faggoting of the publishers' catalogues in a mammoth volume, supplied at a cost little in excess of the binding. Though primarily a trade instrument and help, it has endless guidance to impart to all book-buyers, supplying information not only as to the books actually in print, but as to editions, bindings, illustrations, price, etc.; thus enabling one to make a tolerably safe choice without personal inspection. Such information in the case of standard works is peculiarly convenient, and an old copy of the 'Annual' will long retain its value in this particular.

A third edition of Sievers's classic 'Angelsächsische Grammatik' has just been published (Halle: Niemeyer). Though not the complete revision which Prof. Sievers has long been preparing, the new edition is considerably enlarged and in many ways improved. The phonology has been in part recast, and, throughout, the dialects have been treated in much greater detail. In this latter regard, the distinguished author acknowledges especially his obligations to four scholars; two of whom are Americans—Prof. Cook of Yale (for Northumbrian) and Prof. Brown of Cincinnati (for Mercian).

Lemcke & Buechner send us the second, revised edition of Justus Perthes's 'Deutscher Marine-Atlas,' a thin volume showing in five charts the German navy's foreign stations; the German coast line and its defences, with a side-map of the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal; the German protectorates; and Germany's foothold in Eastern Asia. These fresh and authoritative delineations are preceded by statistics respecting the imperial navy at home and abroad, with a chronicle of its doings 1872-1897, the text of the Fleet law of 1898, and other valuable matter.

We are glad to learn from a circular that the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* is now sufficiently prosperous to dispense with what we may call its preferred class of subscribers at five dollars, and to ask but two dollars from all alike. This periodical is one of the few wholly original American ventures of recent years, and was so wisely conceived that it has undergone scarcely any change of scheme or scope. Its typography is beautiful, and its contents must appeal to every alumnus with irresistible force as binding his past to the present, and as revealing every quarter the vast proportions of the intellectual machinery known as the University.

Rockall, an isolated rock in the north Atlantic about 160 miles west of the Hebrides, is described exhaustively by Miller Christy, F.L.S., in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for August. At its base it has a circumference of about 250 feet, and its "summit (which is more or less pointed, and is always whitened by the dung of sea-birds) rises to a height of about seventy feet above the surface of the water. Its western face is absolutely perpendicular, and all its other sides are almost precipitous." This fact, together with the prevalence of the Atlantic swell, makes a landing well-nigh impossible. The first recorded visit was by Capt. (then Lieutenant) Basil Hall, in 1810, who has left a graphic account of his adventures on that occasion. A scientific expedition sent out in 1896 was unsuccessful in landing, but made soundings and dredged on the neighboring banks. The rock of which the eminence is composed seems to be different in character from all other known rocks, and it is proposed to call it "rockallite," which is defined as "having the structure of the 'granite porphyries,' but belonging to the extreme variety of the soda-bearing acid rocks." Precise information in regard to the ornithology of the rock has not yet been obtained, but among the twenty species of birds observed on or near it in 1896 was the Great Shearwater *(Puffinis gravis)*, whose breeding-place is still unknown. Some excellent photographs of the rock, which is often taken by passing seamen for a ship under sail, are given.

The official programme has been published for the twentieth session of the International Literary and Artistic Association (Association Littéraire et Artistique Internationale). The Congress will be held at Turin, from the 20th to the 28th of September, inclusive. Three Italian cities have previously entertained the Association, viz., Rome, Venice, and Milan; but only a limited number of Italians have thus far participated in the proceedings, which is the more noticeable because of the considerable literature upon literary property by Italian writers. Sig. Ferrari reports to the present congress on copyright in Italy. The "Programme des travaux et des fêtes" provides recreation in the usual social functions, and an all-day excursion to the valley of Aosta, including visits to the châteaux of Verrès and Isogne, and maps out a liberal schedule for work in seven sessions, with a round dozen papers to be read and discussed. The subjects included are: The Moral Rights of Authors, by MM. Eduard Mack and Jules Lermina; Art Industries under the French Law of 1793; Protection to Scientific Works; Deposit of Copies, by M. Lucien Layus, delegate of the Paris Circle of Publishers; Property Rights in Historical Documents; Newspaper Copyright; Posthumous Works, by Prof. Röthlisberger of the Berne Copyright Bureau; and Protection for Architectural Works. Topics continued from former sessions are: The Possible Unification of the Laws Relating to Literary and Artistic Property; *Contrat d'édition*, and the much discussed but slow-progressing project of a new Russian copyright law. Reports are also expected on the state of copyright matters in various countries; the "rapporteur" for the United States being Mr. Paul Oeker of California.

The American Economic Association, now in the thirteenth year of its existence, offers seventy-five sets of its publications, eleven octavo volumes each, bound in cloth, at $21.75 per set, or at $27.25 bound in half morocco, shipping charges to be added. Orders should be sent to Prof. W. F. Willcox, Secretary of the Association, Ithaca, N. Y. Each volume has an index, and there is a series index to the whole.

Christen Andersen Thyregod, one of the leading Danish "peasant poets," died July 31. He was born near Veile, Jutland, November 12, 1822. After working on a farm, he enlisted in the army, but, having been discharged on account of ill health, he studied and became a teacher in 1849. Although he did not begin to publish until comparatively late in life, he became one of the most voluminous Danish authors, one collection of Tales and Legends extending to eight volumes. Thyregod's main object in writing was to furnish intellectual nourishment for his fellow-peasants.

—There is a good deal in the September *Century* about the possessions we have acquired by the war. Whitelaw Reid's article on "The Territory with which we are Threatened" derives most of its importance from the fact that the writer, as Peace Commissioner, speaks with some authority. What he says about Cuba and Porto Rico—that we must hold them and at the same time keep them out of the Union—might have been predicted, but what he says about the Philippines could not. His view is, that while "we may have to hold the Philippines," we are not in honor bound to hold them "if we can honorably dispose of them"; but knowing what we know and what we have made plain to the world about Spain's government, "we cannot honorably require them to go back under it again." It would be "permissible" to "trade them for something nearer home," and "it is quite possible that some way out of our embarrassing possession may yet be found"; the fact being that "many of

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our people do not much want it." This is very interesting. As a publicist, Mr. Reid maintains that there is nothing in the contention that keeping the Philippines is inconsistent with the Monroe Doctrine; but it is not as a publicist that he commands attention. If there is something in keeping these islands inconsistent with his own views and instructions, that will be quite enough for those of our people who do not much want them. An entertaining illustrated article in the same number on "The Malay Pirates of the Philippines," is by Prof. Dean C. Worcester, who has been among them. These pirates seem to inhabit at least one island of the group, and are not yet well adapted either for American citizenship or to provide a market for our products. When a Moro (these pirates are Mohammedans in faith, and have a Sultan) suffers from ennui, he bathes in a spring, shaves off his eyebrows, and takes a solemn oath that he will die killing his enemies; and then, with his kris, or barong, runs amuck, killing in his final "good time" a large number of people before he is killed himself. When Mr. Worcester got leave from Gen. Arolas (called "Papa" by his loving subjects) to go into the interior, a Moro named Toolawee was sent with him as a guide. This guide had a good reputation and behaved very well, but his views of business were new to Mr. Worcester. When they got into the woods, he said, "Papa told you if you met armed Moros outside the town to order them to lay down their arms and retire?" On Mr. Worcester's replying in the affirmative, the good Toolawee suggested that Papa did not understand his people as well as he, Toolawee, did; that they were all really bad, and that the best plan would be to kill all they met, after which Mr. Worcester could take their arms and clothing in the interest of science, while he would cut off their heads, shave their eyebrows, show their skulls to Papa, and get a reward for killing *juramentados*. "Thoughts on American Imperialism," by Carl Schurz, is a solid contribution to the settlement of the question raised by Mr. Reid.

—The leading illustrated article in *Scribner's* is Richard Harding Davis's account of the Rough Riders' fight at Guasimas. This engagement, or most of it, he actually saw, having been on or near the firing line from the time of its beginning until its end—a fact which gives his paper a good deal of historical value. According to his account, there was no falling into an "ambuscade," for the troops were thrown forward with the deliberate purpose of "developing" the enemy; but when we come to the question whether this was in obedience to orders, Mr. Davis's statement needs to be read with a good deal of attention before its exact significance appears. The Rough Riders did, he says, "in their anxiety to be well forward," make a forced march by night to Siboney, "in a spirit of independence"; but this does not affect the fact that their next forward movement—on Guasimas—was made by order of Gen. Wheeler, who, however, in giving this order, "disarranged the original order in which the troops were to move forward, as it had been laid down by Gen. Shafter before the transports arrived at Baiquiri." In explanation of the failure to throw forward skirmishers, he declares that this was practically impossible, the only line of advance being in single file along a beaten trail, through an otherwise impassable jungle. All the precautions possible were taken: two Cuban scouts were placed in the lead; then, a hundred yards behind, came a "point" of five picked men, and then Capron's troop of sixty men in single file. Gen. Young, with the First and Tenth dismounted cavalry, advanced by another trail, but between the two trails there was a valley, and his column could not be seen at all until, at Guasimas, the two detachments came together. Mr. Davis therefore gives no account of the formation in which Gen. Young's advance was made. The affair is summed up in the statement that one thousand American troops dislodged four thousand Spanish troops strongly intrenched in rifle pits, in a mountain pass behind thick cover, and routed them. The loss on our side was very small, and this fact rather diminishes the effect of Mr. Davis's article, some of which is pitched in a key that needs a Waterloo or a Gettysburg for its subject. His description is very good when it is restrained, but his foible is the picturesque. A competent military criticism of the operations he describes would be necessary to supplement what he tells us. He labors, by the way, under the "yellow" delusion that "howling" and profanity are indications of bravery. This idea comes direct from the editorial sanctum, not from the field of war. It is interesting just now to know that our men called the transports "prison hulks," and an inimitable Spanish story is that of the prisoner who explained the defeat at Guasimas by the charge that the Rough Riders disregarded all the rules of war in advancing instead of falling back when fired on. "That is not the way to fight, to come closer at every volley." The rule is, when fired on, to retreat.

—In *Harper's*, Mr. Bryce's article, called "Some Thoughts on the Policy of the United States," has already attracted so much attention that it would be going over ground no longer new to criticise it here. It is important, not merely for its arguments, but as a reminder that our next friend in England is no Imperialist. The illustrated article that is most entertaining is "The Romance of a Mad King," by the Rev. Alexander Mackay-Smith. This gives an account of the palaces of King Louis II. of Bavaria, which were the means, first of ruining and then of reëstablishing the financial position of the "Bavarian Nation." There is no doubt that the King was a madman, yet, curiously enough, his lunacy did not do a tithe the harm to Bavaria that many another king's sanity has done to his country; the fees charged for admission to Linderhof, and Neuschwanstein, and Herrenchiemsee, bringing in a plentiful supply of money to replenish the exchequer which his folly had emptied. His devotion to art was less costly than his devotion to war would have been, though it must be confessed that the final financial scheme popularly attributed to him—that of selling or hypothecating Bavaria for so much cash down to a well-known firm of French bankers—cannot be justified by any theory of statecraft that we know of. It is said that the exhibition of a royal letter inquiring how much he could obtain for the property was what led immediately to his deposition. Tourists have every cause to be grateful to him, for he provided them with sights of a sort not to be found outside Bavaria—sights, too, of which a perfectly sound mind would never have dreamt. Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart contributes a paper on "The Experience of the United States in Foreign Military Expeditions," which is full of valuable information. It recalls the fact, too often forgotten, that the old Democratic party, just before the civil war, became filled with imperialistic longings, evidently the result of a desire to divert public attention from domestic politics and the slavery question. In 1852 we undertook to protect American vessels loading guano in the Lobos Islands against Peruvian interference; in 1854 we bombarded Greytown; in 1857 we sent naval vessels to both sides of the Isthmus to teach the haughty Columbians a lesson; in the same year we censured Commodore Paulding for sending the filibuster Walker home for trial; in 1859 we sent a naval and military expedition to Paraguay, and about this time the venerable Buchanan, so weak at home, set on foot a scheme which would have made him "the dictator of Latin America." In the period from 1836 to 1860 there were some twenty-five cases of armed intervention abroad. Then came the civil war, and when the effects of that conflict had begun to die out, a new period of Jingoism set in. The only difference is in the name of the party which, when at its wits' end to direct attention from its own misdeeds, suddenly goes wild over our interests and responsibilities abroad.

—In the *Atlantic*, Prince Kropotkin is the subject of an article by Robert Erskine Ely, while the Prince himself contributes the first instalment of "The Autobiography of a Revolutionist." Very pleasant reading it is about "Old" Russia, the Russia of the fathers but not the sons—the Russia divided from the past by enfranchisement, by nihilism, by socialism, by dynamite and democratic aspirations, and by the ruin of the old aristocracy. Between the lines we seem to get for the first time sufficient means to make out the real place of the Prince in the world in which we live, which is rather that of a literary and scientific than a naturally political man. In the case of a man of such versatility it is easy to make mistakes, but it is hard for us to imagine a man who is an accomplished mathematician and a leading Anarchist being *au fond* really political. His life of self-sacrifice and honorable toil, his amiable temper and lofty aims, his generosity and romanticism, all stand out in bold relief against the somewhat dingy background of the present industrial world. Passing over the "Unpublished Letters of Carlyle," which do not add much to our knowledge of that writer, a paper with the curious title "A Lawyer with a Style," by Prof. Woodrow Wilson, gives an account of Sir Henry Maine and his writings. Its implication, that most lawyers have no "style," or that a style is a thing that can be "put on," as "style" is in the Bowery, will probably puzzle some members of the bar; the only lawyers of reputation who have no style whatever are the authors of the New York Code of Procedure, in which case the usual explanation is that they have endeavored to express ideas which they do not themselves comprehend. Of course, a literary style is not a legal style. William Roscoe Thayer writes about Bismarck, and Élisée Reclus has an interesting article on "The Vivisection of China."

THE ICELANDIC HAMLET.

Hamlet in Iceland; Being the Icelandic Am-

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bales Saga, edited and translated, with extracts from five Ambales Rímur and other illustrative texts, for the most part now first printed, and an introductory essay, by Israel Gollancz. (Northern Library, Vol. III.) London: D. Nutt.

The Icelandic 'Saga of Hamlet' (*Ambales Saga*) is, from a literary point of view, poor stuff. It was written, in a detestable style, by some tasteless scribbler of the seventeenth (or, perhaps, the late sixteenth) century. The anonymous author seems to have had, in the first place, a confused and fragmentary knowledge of the old story, and he has taken a childish delight in stuffing out his narrative with foreign proper names, with tales of trolls, giants, robbers, and Saracens, with long-winded battle-pieces, and, in short, with all the paraphernalia of the *lygisögur* of his debased period. Yet that there was once a genuine Hamlet legend in Iceland is incontestable. The earliest mention of his name occurs in a skaldic strophe usually ascribed to the tenth-century Icelander Snæbjörn Galti ("the Boar"). The stanza is an almost hopeless riddle. It must, however, allude to an anecdote (preserved by Saxo Grammaticus) of Hamlet's pretended madness, and it serves, therefore, as a kind of voucher for an essential feature of the versions that have since become so famous. These are all derived, mediately or immediately, from Saxo's 'Danish History,' written some two hundred years after the time of Snæbjörn. The late "Ambales Saga," of which Mr. Gollancz has now made the *editio princeps*, is also, in all probability, from the same source, much as one would like to discover therein some trace of an independent Icelandic tradition.

Mr. Gollancz, who is now Lecturer in English at the University of Cambridge, is well known to our readers as the editor of the deservedly popular "Temple Shakspere." His services to letters include also editions of Cynewulf's 'Christ,' of the Middle English 'Pearl,' and of the 'Codex Exoniensis.' He is a ready writer and a scholar of varied attainments, but, if we are not mistaken, the handsome book before us marks, with the exception of a brief essay, his first excursion into Scandinavian territory. We regret that we cannot altogether congratulate him on the results.

Let us first consider the text and the translation, which are conveniently arranged on opposite pages. In the first place Mr. Gollancz has taken the shortest possible cut: he has made a diplomatic reprint of a nineteenth-century manuscript. This procedure is enough to take away one's breath. There are three manuscripts of the seventeenth century in the Arna-Magnæan Library, and from these a satisfactory text could easily have been constructed. If Mr. Gollancz did not think the saga worth so much trouble, he might at least have chosen one of the Arna-Magnæan codices to print from. If he still did not think the saga worth so much trouble, why did he print it at all? The 'Ambales Saga' is an unvenerable piece of recent antiquity. One good edition would have sufficed for a hundred years. If Mr. Gollancz was not ready to supply such an edition, he should, in all conscience, have withheld his hand. There was no haste. The immediate needs of scholars were met, two years ago, by Dr. Otto Jiriczek's 'Die Amlethsage auf Island,' which gives the fullest kind of analysis, with careful indication of the variations of incident shown by the three earliest manuscripts. In any case a diplomatic print of this modern copy, preserving not merely its bad spelling and bad grammar, but its absurd capitalization and punctuation, would be a strange spectacle. Under the circumstances, we cannot see that the editor has any defence.

The translation is of a piece with the text. A good English version of an Icelandic saga is, to be sure, a rare thing. For some reason, the translators commonly feel under an obligation to archaize in style and language; hence, too often, an affected jargon, repugnant alike to English and to Icelandic. Mr. Gollancz has not avoided the snare. "There lived a king hight Donrek," he begins; . . . "he was passing rich and mighty, what with his folk and a many brave retainers." This is tiresome and affected; but, if it were skilfully carried out, it might become pardonable in the long run. It is not skilfully carried out. Genuine archaisms, sham antiques, and frank modernisms are shuffled together, in defiance of consistency and good taste. "Fell adown," "pulled him aback," "otherwise than she was erst," "whenas," "mostwhiles," "blithe of cheer," accord ill with "later on," "his neck was very stiffened," "gave himself a nasty fall." Bad style, however, is not the worst fault of the translation. It is careless and inaccurate. Not to speak of small omissions or of the familiar device of vagueness in hard places, it abounds in actual errors, some of which are of the most elementary character.

The severity of this judgment requires us to cite examples. Nothing is easier; the only difficulty is in making a selection. The saga says that certain lands held the Christian faith; the translation, turning a nominative into an accusative, makes a present of the lands to a certain young prince (p. 5). *Er*, 'which,' is rendered "whenever" (p. 17). "Adam-stone" should be "adamant" or "diamond" (p. 31). "What terms will reconcile thee to life?" should be, "On what terms wilt thou make peace?" (p. 41). "Look into her eyes" should be "look upon her with his eyes" (p. 45). "But anon Dixin came up to him [Vilhjalmur] and asked him after King Balant; he said the king was now a prisoner, and told him how he had brought King Malpriant from off his horse." This is completely muddled. It should run: "Anon Didrik came to him; Vilhjálmur asked him after King Balant, and he [Didrik] said he [the king] was now a prisoner. Vilhjálmur told him then how he [Vil.] had brought King Malpriant from off his horse" (p. 63). Farther down on the same page "Vilhjamur" should be "Vallanus." "Stayed there" should be "ceased not" (p. 73). "Each was on the point of falling" (p. 93) should be "Now one and now the other was," etc. "Tied it to a string" should be "tied it to a stone" (p. 131). One or two of these disfigurements may be misprints. Most of them, however, are simply blunders, which show that Mr. Gollancz overestimated his knowledge of the language when he undertook a translation even of this easy text.

Mr. Gollancz has succeeded better in his introduction, which, though rambling and in places recklessly padded, is both interesting and learned. That portion which is novel is devoted to an exceedingly clever attempt to rehabilitate Hamlet as an historical character. The Anglo-Danish romance of 'Havelok the Dane,' preserved in Old French and Middle English, has some general features and a number of particular traits which resemble Saxo's account of Hamlet. The equation has been fully, yet cautiously, discussed by Mr. H. L. D. Ward. Havelok himself is nowadays unhesitatingly identified, on better evidence than usual, with the famous Anlaf (Olave) Curan, Scandinavian King of Dublin and of Northumbria, defeated by Athelstan at Brunanburh in 937. Unfortunately for these combinations, nothing is known of the historical Anlaf's youth, nor are there any but the most general and elusive comparisons to be made between him and Saxo's Hamlet. To operate with his romantic representative Havelok in equating Anlaf and Hamlet is, therefore, as dangerous as it is tempting. What is needed is some bit of independent evidence to connect the historical viking hero directly with the melancholy Dane, either in name or in deeds. Such a link Mr. Gollancz thinks he has found. Anlaf's father, Sitric (Sigtryggr) Gale (or Gaile), is recorded as having slain in battle the Irish king Niall Glundubh. Now, there is extant a piece of Irish poetry, ascribed to Niall's widow, in which Niall is said to have been killed by the foreigner *Amhlaide*. *Amhlaide* corresponds to *Amlóthi*, the Old Norse form of *Hamlet*. Hence, Mr. Gollancz infers, Sitric was known to the Irish as Hamlet, or as "the foolish," that being the meaning of *Amlóthi* so far as we can ascertain. He derives Sitric's surname, "Gale," hitherto unexplained, from O. N. *galithr*, "mad"; assumes a blending, in popular story, of the father, Sitric, with the son, Anlaf, etc., etc.

At this point Mr. Gollancz wavers a good deal and contrives to be pretty vague. We gather that he would like, if he quite dared, to give the following genealogy to the Hamlet story: First, a Germanic myth of Orwendil and his son is carried from Scandinavia to Ireland, where it is developed into a primitive form of our Hamlet story; the hero's real or assumed stupidity becomes an important trait, and he receives the name (probably Celtic) *Amlaidhe*, "the fool." It was this form of the story that was known to Snæbjörn, the Icelander. The same surname is given to Sitric by the Irish and is later transferred, by confusion, to his son Anlaf Curan. Some time in the eleventh century the Hamlet story as we know it in Saxo is finally developed, by the combination of the mythical elements already mentioned with historical facts about Sitric and Anlaf.

There are the gravest difficulties, both linguistic and historical, in the way of these theories. Almost every step is beset with pitfalls. We have no space for an elaborate discussion. Suffice it to say that the interpretation of *Gaile* as "mad" is very daring; that, if no Germanic etymology for *Amlóthi* is discoverable, nobody has yet found a native Celtic etymology for *Amlaidhe;* that there is no good evidence that Sitric was ever called *Amlaidhe* or *Amlóthi*, still less that Anlaf ever received that surname. Finally, the mysterious Snæbjörn stanza, which presupposes a developed Icelandic tale of Hamlet (Amlóthi) well known in Iceland in the tenth century, not more than thirty years later than the Irish lament in which "Amhlaide" is mentioned, stands, as it appears to us, squarely across the path of the Anlaf argument. However, Mr. Gollancz is entitled to our admiration for his courage. Much discussion will be roused by his essay, and, in the end, good service will be done. There are other matters of interest in the introduction, but we must pass on.

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A long and valuable appendix furnishes students of the later Icelandic literature with some fifty pages of inedited *rímur*. These attest the popularity of the story in Iceland in the 17th and 18th centuries, but throw little or no light on the saga itself. There are also a list of manuscripts, a few short prose texts, and some other pertinent apparatus. We notice one bad misprint at p. 280, by which the British Museum MS. of the 'Ambales Saga' is dated "thirteenth century," some three hundred years before the composition of the saga itself.

A word in closing. We have felt compelled to call attention freely to the shortcomings of Mr. Gollancz's text and translation, but we are anxious not to be misunderstood. The book is, in some respects, discreditable to a scholar of his position and repute, but it cannot be neglected by students of Hamlet. The text, though bad, is generally intelligible, and the errors in the translation, though numerous, do not affect its general availability. The mechanical execution of the volume is admirable.

Introduction to the Study of Sociology. By J. H. W. Stuckenberg. A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1898.

Outlines of Sociology. By Lester F. Ward. The Macmillan Co. 1898.

These two books are remarkable chiefly for the fact that the authors deal with extraordinary fairness with the question which lies on the threshold of their study: Is there any such thing as a science of sociology? Comte and Spencer are generally recognized as the fathers of this branch of learning, and they labor with great ingenuity to prove the claim of sociology to a place in the hierarchy of the sciences. Most of their followers adopt in whole or in part the views advanced by them. Dr. Ward and Mr. Stuckenberg, on the contrary, not only throw grave doubts on the Comtean and Spencerian speculations, but expressly disclaim for sociology the position of an established science. "All sociologists," says Mr. Stuckenberg, "are agreed that no sociological system thus far developed can claim to be thoroughly 'scientific'" (p. 273), and Dr. Ward, after pointing out (p. 143) that "until a group of facts and phenonema reaches a stage at which these can be generalized into laws, which, in turn, are merely the expressions of the uniform working of its underlying forces, it cannot be appropriately denominated a science," adds, "Psychology and Sociology have scarcely reached it." In other words, sociology is not exactly a science, like astronomy or chemistry, but it is a branch of knowledge which is possibly on the way to become such.

Nothing could be franker than this; but the effect produced by the elaboration of such a position by a teacher will not be to procure followers. Both authors write too often as if their aim were not to inform us what sociological science is, but to explain what a capital thing it would be if it only were such. They destroy the false gods of Spencer and of Comte, and give us nothing in their place to worship. This, at least, is true of Mr. Stuckenberg. Dr. Ward has an elaborate philosophy of his own, which, as far as we can make out, is a propaganda, involving the improvement of man's lot on earth; but this is less a scientific system than a practical aim, in which he is entirely at one with every one who is interested in social problems. His book can hardly be taken as more than a series of essays on human society—many of them no doubt interesting, but not in any true sense systematic; while Mr. Stuckenberg's book is a mass of criticism and analysis, some of it very good, but all, to our mind, absolutely inconclusive. We have known Spencerians and Comteans; we cannot even conceive of a Stuckenbergian. To any one who is familiar with the thousand and one speculations about society which the ingenuity of man has evolved, both volumes will be interesting, but as embodying a branch of learning to be pursued by the young and untrained, we must confess to finding them worse than useless, for they leave the student, where they found him, in the dark.

We have been particularly disappointed in finding that Mr. Stuckenberg withdraws his assent even from Comte's law of the "three stages." After showing that Turgot anticipated Comte in suggesting it (p. 30), he declares that it is "not a law of history," and makes the extraordinary remark that "perhaps the positive method is as faulty as the others in claiming absoluteness and universality." Comte's law is the statement of the observed fact that there are three stages in the explanation of phenomena—the religious, the metaphysical, and the positive or scientific. It may be that many phenomena have, from the dawn of history, been studied in the positive way; but it is a strange idea that the positive method, once reached, can be improved by an infusion of metaphysics and theology. At any rate, Mr. Stuckenberg's proposal would leave us absolutely nothing of Comte's discovery.

Of Herbert Spencer's great discovery that society is an "organism" both authors make minced-meat. This is not difficult, for it is pretty well understood now by every one who has given any attention to the subject, that the statement is a mere figure of speech. Dr. Ward's chapter on the "Relation of Sociology to Biology" will be found to deal a death-blow to this overdrawn analogy, and we do not well see how the innumerable errors which have sprung from it can have a much longer life.

The fundamental difficulty which we find with both books, as with nine-tenths of most current sociological speculation, is that their authors have never yet carefully defined for themselves exactly what they mean by the term "society." This is fatal to any sociological system, because society covers so vast a field. Political economy is concerned with part of it, but is political economy a division of social science, or is there a social science which explains political economy? Dr. Ward seems to think that there are two kinds of political economy, an "old" and a "new," and that sociology rules over both. Malthus's "Law of Population" would be considered by most people as highly sociological, but our author would apparently relegate it to the "old" economy. Society evidently signifies associated human beings. When we speak of the welfare of society, or the development of society, we mean the welfare shared by numbers, or the common development of their laws, customs, and institutions. Sociology would therefore mean, and in the mouths of Comte, Mill, and Spencer it did mean, the discovery of the laws which regulate this development. Comte's law, the supposed law of the supersession of status by contract, the theory of the development of individual out of common ownership of land, Buckle's historical theory—all present sociological questions; but it is a striking fact that the discussion of them or knowledge of the learning relating to them does not appear to be regarded by sociologists as falling within their province. What, then, are they about? Apparently writing essays about society, the materials for which they draw from the researches of others in the fields of economics, law, history, or anthropology, and bring forward in the light of some more or less ethical theory about improvement or evolution. Mr. Stuckenberg and Dr. Ward both say that, thus far, no science has resulted; but we may venture to go further and to predict that from such a method no science will ever result. That there are laws which govern the development of society we firmly believe, but they cannot be found out by any one who believes in a judicious mixture of theology, metaphysics, and positivism, nor by any one who is concerning himself with the question, What ought society to do?

The Diplomatic History of America: Its First Chapter. 1452-1493-1494. By Henry Harrisse. London: B. F. Stevens.

Mr. Harrisse's writings have from time to time roused a good deal of opposition, but no one can quarrel with him for allotting the "first chapter" of American diplomatic history to Spain and Portugal. In ten pages he dismisses the papal grants which were made to the latter country from 1452 to 1484, and then reaches the real subject of his monograph, to wit, the negotiations between Spain, Portugal, and the Holy See which followed Columbus's landing at Palos. The study centres about 1493-4, and has three branches: firstly, the bulls issued by Alexander VI. in 1493; secondly, the treaty of Tordesillas; and thirdly, the practical delimitation which was made in pursuance of papal behest and international agreement. In connection with this last subject Mr. Harrisse considers the views of several cosmographers, among them Ferrer, Enciso, the Badajoz Junta, Ribeiro, and the maker of the Cantino map.

Ferdinand and Isabella, when they heard that land had been found, at once applied through Carvajal and Medina, their envoys at Rome, for a grant of the same. The papal chancery was prevailed upon to act with unusual speed, and about a month after instructions left Barcelona the bull *Inter Cætera* was issued, May 3, 1493. Accompanying this went a shorter bull, *Eximiæ Devotionis*, which was nothing more than an abstract of the first, and next day a third instrument containing territorial definitions made its appearance. By this the Atlantic dominion of Spain, which, according to the two bulls of May 3, might have commenced, strictly speaking, with the very seaboards of Europe, and extended uninterruptedly westwards (excluding, however, the possessions of Christian princes), was made to begin to the west of a meridian one hundred leagues west and south of the Azores and of Cape Verde. To be sure, the Azores and Cape Verde are neither in the same latitude nor longitude, but the promptness with which Spain applied for and got a charter is beyond question.

It has often been stated on the word of Barros, Zurita, and Herrera, that a controversy arose at Rome over the inordinate

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concessions to Spain which were made in the bulls of May 3. Mr. Harrisse criticises all three of these authorities, and is convinced that no pressure, Portuguese or otherwise, influenced Alexander VI. in framing the grant of May 4. To say nothing of the fact that a delay of more than twenty-four hours would have been required after the Pope once changed his mind, the references to India in the third bull show that it was drawn without Portuguese aid. The reason why the Pope specified a hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde seems to have been that he was unwilling to invalidate the grants of his predecessors, Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV.

Whether or no Portugal was so alert as to remonstrate with Alexander on the 3d of May, she was very much irritated, and was already preparing to maintain her rights over the lands whose discovery Columbus himself had related to João II. on the evening of March 9, 1493. Her protests bore better fruit at Barcelona than at Rome. By his fourth bull of 1493, dated September 25, Alexander VI. still further extended Spain's rights over the new territories, and left Portugal a bare route to India by the Cape of Good Hope. Little detail has come down regarding the parley which ended in the famous treaty of Tordesillas, but on June 7, 1494, Spain consented to recognize a line drawn 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands as a normal boundary between the two spheres of colonial possession. Both parties agreed that the limit should be scientifically fixed by a joint commission within ten months, and that the Pope should be asked to recast his bulls in the sense of this private contract. "A noticeable clause is that not only the contracting parties swear on the Holy Cross to obey the articles of agreement, but, in case of their violating it, they bind themselves never to ask the Pope or any prelate for absolution of such act."

Mr. Harrisse's unequalled knowledge of American cartography is seen to full advantage in his discussion of the actual demarcation line. In only one of the early reckonings did this fall to the west of 46 degrees 36 minutes from Greenwich. Ribeiro locates it between the east and west mouths of the Amazon. The most easterly point is the 42 degrees 30 minutes of the Cantino map.

We leave aside Mr. Harrisse's contention that Alexander VI. merely meant to give Spain and Portugal the lands discovered by each (within the boundaries indicated), to say a word upon his defence of the bull from ridicule. During the Venezuelan trouble, he reminds us, England called this instrument "comical," and yet she once acknowledged it freely. "Nay, during several centuries her historians believed, and a number still believe, that the rights of Great Britain over Ireland had precisely the same origin as the rights claimed by Venezuela over a part of British Guiana. And so it is, historically." Here follows a long analogy based upon Henry II.'s relations with Ireland, Pope Hadrian IV., the bull *Laudabiliter*, and John of Salisbury. We imagine that popular misapprehension on this point is less grave than Mr. Harrisse thinks. Few people are unaware that, during the Middle Ages, a papal sanction was of great international importance. The point is that the basis of political authority has radically changed, not only since 1155, but since 1493. That the *Times* on February 6, 1896, should call Alexander VI.'s apostolic letters "comical" and "ridiculous" is not strange if one considers that to-day no Roman Catholic country would recognize a papal document of the fifteenth century which attacked its current interests. We also doubt whether it could be proved to satisfaction that decrees of the notorious Borgia ever claimed the same reverence in England which had been given to those of Nicholas Breakspeare.

One seldom has the opportunity of setting Mr. Harrisse right on a matter connected with his favorite period. We must object, however, to his statement on p. 47 that Henry VII. married "the daughter of Edward III."

The Great Polar Current: Polar Papers. De Long, Nansen, Peary. By Henry Mellen Prentiss. New York: F. A. Stokes Co. 1898. 12mo, pp. 153.

Mr. Henry Mellen Prentiss is a gentleman who is (as he informs us) thoroughly read in Arctic literature, and at various times has written to prominent Arctic experts, to the newspapers, and to periodicals letters or essays containing the fruit of his cogitations thereon, or speculations as to the whereabouts of the *Jeannette*, or Nansen and other explorers. Mr. Mellen has been so struck by the accuracy of his own forecasts, printed and unprinted, that he has gathered them into this very pretty little volume for preservation in more permanent form. His friends will value this evidence of his foresight, and Arctic bibliography will have another entry.

The articles so collected evince a wide and intelligent reading and an alert mind, but not a grasp of underlying scientific principles. The superficiality of the author's study is shown by his supposition that the *Fram* and the *Jeannette*, by their drift, established the existence of a great Polar current in the sea north of Siberia. This was no doubt Nansen's original hypothesis, and is a prevalent popular opinion, but an error nevertheless. A careful platting of the drift of the *Jeannette* shows that the floe in which she was fixed followed the direction of the prevalent winds with no marked exception. The greater part of the drift of the *Fram* was of the same nature. Now, as the motion of a sailing ship before a fair wind is no proof that she also has a favorable current, neither does the drift of the ice in these cases prove anything of the kind. So far as the currents of the Polar Sea are proved to exist and accounted for, they are chiefly convection currents modified by tide and river flow. The drift of the polar ice under the influence of the winds produces results which agree with those which might be brought about by the hypothetical current; but since we have proof of the action of the wind, and know that it is sufficient for the purpose, it is entirely unnecessary to invoke the assistance of currents of whose existence and direction we know nothing whatever.

The subject of Arctic currents is beset with difficulty. They can hardly be observed except in ice-free regions, and there only for brief intervals. We know that those which have been observed are more or less dependent on the tides, with the exception of the East Greenland current. We know that the Polar Sea forms a basin closed (practically) except to the North Atlantic. We know that it receives a considerable influx of river water, besides its own precipitation, and a certain amount of sea-water from the northeasterly drift between Spitzbergen and Norway. There is only one way out for the accumulated water, and that is between Spitzbergen and Greenland. Aided by convection, a strong and permanent current is established here. How far north its influence extends is unknown. This is the lip of the pitcher, toward which the steady pressure of the circumpolar winds (proved theoretically by Ferrell and practically by the *Jeannette* and the *Fram)* carries the floes of the Polar Sea. What else there may be in the way of currents is still conjectural. It is true, however, that our author errs in company with many learned newspapers, and our criticism is rather of a widespread misapprehension than of his amiable little book.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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Cheyne, Rev. T. K. Jewish Religious Life After the Exile. Putnams. $1.50.
Driver, Prof. S. R. The Parallel Psalter. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. $1.50.
Ellis, E. S. Klondike Nuggets, and How Two Boys Secured Them. Doubleday & McClure Co. $1.
Gallon, T. Dicky Monteith. Appletons. $1.
Gaullier, Henry. The Paternal State in France and Germany. Harpers. $1.25.
Hayley, H. W. The Alcestis of Euripides. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Kidder, F. E. Building Construction and Superintendence. Part II. Carpenters' Work. New York: W. T. Comstock. $4.
Laidlaw, A. H. Soldier Songs and Love Songs. W. R. Jenkins. $1.
Warren, Rev. H. W. Among the Forces. Eaton & Mains. $1.
Wilkins, Miss Mary E. The People of Our Neighborhood. Doubleday & McClure Co. 50c.

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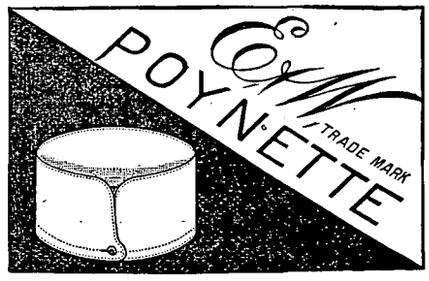

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Flagg's Nepos.
Herbermann's Sallust.

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